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CONTENTS

The Bibliography of Canadian Constitutional History *Reginald G. Trotter* 1

Some Notes on the Bibliography of Canadian History *Fred Landon* 13

British Columbia: A Bibliographical Sketch *R. L. Reid* 20

Photostatic Reproductions of Early American Newspapers *William Warner Bishop* 45

The Bibliography of American Travel: A Project *Solon J. Buck* 52

Bibliographical Co-operation between Mexico and the United States . . . . . *Rafael Heliodoro Valle* 60

Azariah Smith Root . . . . . *William Warner Bishop* 66

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CANADIAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

BY REGINALD G. TROTTER

THE recent growth of interest in the constitutional history of Canada almost justifies the adjective "startling." Yet perhaps its explanation is not far to seek. The great public, and even sometimes the specialist, are puzzled by Canada's present status in the world. Here is a young nation, already as wide in area as the republic to the south has become after a century and a half of independent political life, and with thrice the population which the United States had in 1776, which occupies a position among the nations utterly unprecedented in history. It is virtually independent politically; it controls all its political affairs over which it cares to exercise control; it is subordinate, according to the definitions formulated at the last Imperial Conference, to no external authority; it is a member in its own right of the League of Nations; it has its own legation and minister at Washington and welcomes an American minister at Ottawa; and yet, despite all this, spurns the idea of severing its connection with Britain and the other British nations. We are so accustomed to nationalisms that feed on ideals of separateness that it is exceedingly difficult to comprehend such reconciliation of a rather flamboyant national consciousness with a devotion, not merely loyal but ardent, to the larger common weal, that marks Canada today as a member of the British Commonwealth. The old categories of the political theorist fail us. But the reality, the condition, is with us, to be explained if we can. While developments of the last

few years, and even months, have been striking, it is obvious that they are inexplicable except as the culmination of a long and gradual process. In short, those who seek to comprehend this phenomenon, to many quite incomprehensible, which is displayed by Canada's present political status, and is confused by the complex loyalties of her citizens, are drawn to a study of her constitutional history as the sole repository of a satisfactory explanation.

The seekers after understanding are numerous, in other countries as well as in Canada, and nowhere are they evidencing a more rapid growth of interest than in the United States. It is only so recently that Canadian universities have generally been giving serious attention to the history of their own country that Canadians could hardly evince surprise were the subject still neglected in the curricula of American institutions of higher learning. But, far from that being the case, the last half-dozen years have seen Canadian history introduced there in a considerable number of places, sometimes as part of work upon the British Empire, sometimes as part of general work upon North America, and frequently as a distinct course of study. United States publishers are already competing for the chance to publish books likely to be adapted to general use in such courses. One (Knopf) has already announced for publication in the near future such a *History of Canada*, by Professor Carl Wittke, of Ohio State University. The number of libraries, chiefly American, which have launched upon more or less ambitious programs for building up their collections on Canadian history must be astounding, if one may judge from the soaring propensities observable in the quoted prices of important out-of-print books. For many years, it is true, there have been great collections of material for the study of Canadian history, both constitutional and general, not only at a number of places in Canada, including Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, and, for French

Canada, Quebec, but also, in regard especially to printed material, at Washington, New York, Boston, and Cambridge. The number of such meccas of the advanced research student is growing, even in the matter of manuscripts so far as certain branches of the subject are concerned.

I take it, however, that I am not to deal primarily with the needs of the mature scholar who is already a producing specialist in the field of Canadian history. He must still, for some time to come, do much of his work in the old-established great collections; he will ordinarily find himself drawn for at least part of it to the manuscript-room of the Public Archives at Ottawa, sometimes as well to provincial archives, and occasionally to the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and other repositories in the Old World. I must rather devote myself on this occasion to the needs of the comparative beginner in the field, with the special object of presenting an introduction to the materials more readily available for the study of Canadian constitutional history. And since many other phases of history are essential to an understanding of its constitutional aspect, I must necessarily touch somewhat upon materials dealing with the more general history of Canada. I shall bear in mind particularly the student or librarian who wishes to build up a well-balanced collection of more or less moderate scope, but shall also offer some suggestions which I hope may be useful in pointing the way to a more elaborate and comprehensive program, where that is the object of ambition.

A library which lacks any section specifically devoted to Canadiana may still contain considerable material of value bearing upon the subject. Encyclopedias such as the *Britannica* and the *Americana* may be drawn upon for a variety of information arranged under many heads besides that of "Canada," while the English *Dictionary of national biography* may

often be used to advantage. The more comprehensive histories of the United States are important, most notably the Yale University Press series, "Chronicles of America" (50 vols.; New Haven, 1918–21), which was conceived, by the way, in the fertile brain of a Toronto publisher, the late Mr. Robert Glasgow. In that admirable and readable series are three volumes, *Crusaders of New France*, by Professor William B. Munro, of Harvard University; *The conquest of New France*, by Professor George M. Wrong, of the University of Toronto; and *The Canadian dominion*, by Dr. O. D. Skelton, late of Queen's University and now undersecretary of state for external affairs at Ottawa, which taken together comprise the most readable and brief and at the same time scholarly account of Canadian history at present available. Works on the British Empire may also be referred to with profit. In the *Historical geography of the British colonies* (Vol. V, Parts I, II, and III; Oxford, various years), edited by Sir Charles Lucas, for many years an important official in the British Colonial Office, are several works dealing with Canada, which comprise a somewhat more detailed manual of Canadian history than the smaller volumes in the "Chronicles" just mentioned. Information on special topics may often be derived from United States documents as well as from publications of the British government; and one will find in the reviews, proceedings, and other publications of the American Historical Association and many of the state historical societies a rich mine of material touching Canadian history at many points. It is, therefore, evident that no librarian need quite play the rôle of Old Mother Hubbard in response to the public's pleas for bones of information on this subject.

It is not difficult, however, even in a modest library, to provide a more satisfying menu. Let me suggest a moderate shelf of books, and, first of all, a few, historical and descriptive, dealing with the Canadian constitution. Of primary importance as

a scholarly introduction to the field, and one which is at the same time written in a vivid style all too rare in books on such subjects, should be placed a volume by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, of the University of Toronto, *The constitution of Canada: an introduction to its development and law* (Oxford, 1922). A companion work of great usefulness is the same author's *Documents of the Canadian constitution, 1759–1915* (Toronto, 1919). Sir Robert Borden's little book, *Canadian constitutional studies* (Toronto, 1922), first prepared as a group of public lectures, is particularly important in regard to those wartime and post-war developments in which Sir Robert himself, as prime minister of the Dominion, played a leading part. Another group of printed lectures should be mentioned, *The constitution of Canada in its history and practical working* (New Haven, 1917), delivered on the Dodge Foundation at Yale University by Justice W. R. Riddell of the Supreme Court of Ontario. Judge Riddell has further expounded the subject in *The Canadian constitution in form and in fact* (New York, 1923). A convenient description of the workings of dominion and provincial governments, though unreliable in its historical section, is E. Porritt, *Evolution of the Dominion of Canada* (New York, 1918). For a popular and readable comparison of institutions in the United States and Canada, A. H. Smith, *Federalism in North America* (Boston, 1923), is useful. And of course the section on Canada in Lord Bryce's *Modern Democracies* (2 vols.; New York, 1921) is a discussion not to be ignored.

Before passing on to a consideration of more general works I should enumerate at this point several additional volumes dealing with the constitution, of a more technical or special nature than the preceding. These are: *Parliamentary procedure and practice in the Dominion of Canada* (ed. Flint; Toronto, 1916), by Sir John Bourinot, a late clerk of the House of Commons at Ottawa; *The Canadian constitution as interpreted by the*

Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in its judgments (Winnipeg, 1914), by Dr. E. R. Cameron, the present registrar of the Supreme Court of the Dominion; and a number of works by the late Professor A. H. F. Lefroy, of the University of Toronto: *Legislative power in Canada* (Toronto, 1898), *Canada's federal system* (Toronto, 1913), *Short treatise on Canadian constitutional law* (with W. P. M. Kennedy) (Toronto, 1918), *Leading cases in Canadian constitutional law* (Toronto, 1920). R. A. MacKay, *The unreformed Senate of Canada* (Oxford, 1926), is an able historical treatment of a theme that is every now and then a topic of controversy.

Exhaustive treatment of dominion status and imperial relations will be found in the works of A. B. Keith, formerly a high official at the British Colonial Office: *Responsible government in the dominions* (3 vols.; Oxford, 1912), *Imperial unity and the dominions* (Oxford, 1916), *War government of the British dominions* (Oxford, 1921), *The Constitution, administration, and laws of the Empire* (London, 1924). Of these the last-named is the most general and popular. The same author's articles in the *Journal of comparative legislation and international law* (London), on recent constitutional developments in the Empire, are also deserving of notice.

Let me now survey briefly the main periods of Canadian history and indicate certain of the outstanding books for our purpose dealing with the successive phases of the story. For the period of French rule and the struggle for mastery between France and Britain the works of the New Englander, Francis Parkman, still stand without a rival, alike for comprehensive scholarship and for charm of presentation. In certain aspects, of course, his work has been supplemented by that of more recent scholars. Among a number of important monographs which have appeared probably the most valuable is by Professor W. B. Munro, *The seigneurial system in Canada: a study in*

French colonial policy (New York, 1907). An interesting supplement to this study of the old régime is *A Canadian manor and its seigneurs* (2d ed.; Toronto, 1926), by Professor George M. Wrong.

While speaking of the period of French rule may I take occasion to deal with the French-Canadian element in the whole of Canadian history, which must never be forgotten by the student of the subject. A penetrating and suggestive study by an Old World Frenchman, available in an English translation, is A. Siegfried, *The race question in Canada* (London, 1907). A volume of more general scope, also by an Old World Frenchman though now a resident of America, is J. C. Bracq, *The evolution of French Canada* (New York, 1924); it is useful when one has discounted its obvious bias and sometimes uncritical method.

The contribution made by French-Canadian scholars themselves is highly important. I quite recognize that for most libraries it would be out of the question to venture far into the wide range of material in the French language, but a few works must be mentioned. The chief national historian of French Canada was F. X. Garneau, whose *Histoire du Canada* first appeared in the forties of the last century. His grandson, Hector Garneau, recently edited a fifth edition (2 vols.; Paris, 1913–20) admirably adapted to the use of the scholar as well as the general reader. Senator Thomas Chapais, professor of Canadian history in Laval University, Quebec, has produced several important works, of which perhaps the most significant is the survey and interpretation of Canada under British rule embodied in his *Cours d'histoire du Canada* (4 vols. [1760–1841]; Quebec, 1919–23). Among the voluminous writings of the late Benjamin Sulte there must be mentioned his *Histoire des Canadiens français, 1608–1880* (8 vols.; Montreal, 1882–84). Such names as Casgrain, David, and many others invite attention but must be passed over in this brief paper.

Returning to our chronological survey, we come to the period after the completion of the British conquest. *A history of Canada, 1763–1812* (Oxford, 1909), by Sir Charles Lucas, and the same author's *The Canadian war of 1812* (Oxford, 1906), constitute the most comprehensive treatment of a complex period fraught with significance in constitutional no less than in other respects.

The years from the close of the War of 1812 to the conclusion of the rebellions of 1837–38 and Lord Durham's mission are one of the most difficult and as yet least-understood periods in the history of British North America. Durham's *Report* of 1839 is still one of the chief sources of information upon it, and in the edition prepared by Sir Charles Lucas with an elaborate historical Introduction and appendixes (3 vols.; Oxford, 1912) it belongs on the shelf of every student of the subject. It may well be supplemented by a recent monograph, Miss Aileen Dunham's *Political unrest in Upper Canada: 1816–1836* (Toronto, 1927).

The decade of the forties, following Durham's mission and report, witnessed the successful achievement of responsible government, by which the provincial assemblies gained control over the executive after a manner comparable with that which the House of Commons exercises in Britain. The development held for the future more than the men who achieved it realized, for it made possible in the course of time that absolutely novel association of free nations which the world regards today with wonder and puzzlement in the British Commonwealth. Among the works dealing with the coming of responsible government I would draw your attention particularly to an illuminating essay by Professor J. L. Morison, of the University of Durham, formerly of Queen's University, entitled *British supremacy and Canadian self-government, 1839–1854* (Glasgow, 1919).

The next phase constitutionally was the establishment of a

national federation by welding the separate communities in British North America into the Dominion of Canada, which came into being by the union of four eastern provinces in 1867, and before the end of 1873 stretched from Atlantic to Pacific, only Newfoundland remaining outside. Here again an example was set of infinite moment in the evolution of the British Commonwealth. The most comprehensive study, which gives large place to external and economic factors as well as to the internal political story, is R. G. Trotter, *Canadian federation: its origins and achievement: a study in nation building* (Toronto, 1924).

For the period from confederation to the Great War the history is best studied largely in the biographies of the country's leaders. In the political arena two men stand out preeminently: Macdonald, who guided the young Dominion through several troubled decades of slow and arduous and sometimes discouraging endeavor, and Laurier, who led his fellow-countrymen into the promised land of rapid growth and unprecedented prosperity. Both were uniquely leaders of men. Their official biographies are virtually histories of their times. *The memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald, G.C.B., first prime minister of the Dominion of Canada* (2 vols.; Ottawa, 1894), by Sir Joseph Pope, Macdonald's private secretary and literary executor, are matched by the *Life and letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (2 vols.; Toronto, 1921), by Dr. O. D. Skelton, who became Laurier's literary executor some time before the latter's death.

Speaking of biographies, a series which should be on every bookshelf of Canadiana is the "Makers of Canada." This series, first published a score of years ago, was recently acquired by the Oxford Press and last year reissued as a Diamond Jubilee "anniversary edition" (12 vols.; Toronto, 1926) under the editorship of Principal W. L. Grant, of Upper Canada College. In its new form the work has not only been extensively revised

but several important lives have been added. There are still, however, a few men of outstanding importance whose biographies are not included in that series. Of these I would mention *The life and times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt* (Toronto, 1920), by Dr. O. D. Skelton; *The life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee* (Gardenvale, 1925), by Isabel Skelton, wife of the author just named; and *Sandford Fleming: empire builder* (London, 1915), by the Canadian secretary of the International Joint Commission, Laurence J. Burpee.

Besides the "Makers" there are two sets which should by no means be overlooked. The "Chronicles of Canada" (32 vols.; Toronto, 1914–16), edited by Professor G. M. Wrong and the former librarian of the University of Toronto, H. H. Langton, are a group of compact, well-written, and at the same time generally scholarly volumes, similar to those in the "Chronicles of America"—indeed the latter were modeled upon the earlier Canadian series. A set more comprehensive in its scope and more exhaustive in its method is "Canada and its provinces" (23 vols.; Toronto, 1914–17), edited by Dr. Adam Shortt, chairman of the Board of Historical Publications, and Dr. A. G. Doughty, public archivist of the Dominion.

In the matter of reference works I can mention here only two, though there are others that are very useful. *The Oxford encyclopaedia of Canadian history*, by L. J. Burpee, is included as a volume in the anniversary edition of the "Makers of Canada." Last year there also appeared the *Dictionary of Canadian biography*, by the librarian of the University of Toronto, W. S. Wallace, which supersedes all previous works of a similar nature. I must pass over without specific enumeration such classes of material as geographical works and atlases, which of course should not be ignored by the student of either constitutional or general history, as well as publications of the dominion and provincial governments, whether of a current nature or

emanating from the several archives departments and comprising material of inestimable value to the student of the past. To discuss such materials in a satisfactory manner would require more space than is here afforded, and the inquirer must therefore seek fuller bibliographical guidance elsewhere.

This leads me to the question of bibliographical aids. Considerable guidance can be found in encyclopedias and in general American histories such as the "Chronicles of America," "the American nation series" (ed. A. B. Hart; 26 vols.; New York, 1904–18), or even Justin Winsor's somewhat out-of-date *Narrative and critical history of America* (8 vols.; Boston, [*ca.* 1884]–89), as well as in Canadian histories of various scope, from the "Chronicles" to special monographs. In the Canadian volume of the forthcoming *Cambridge history of the British Empire* there will be bibliographical sections on both manuscript and printed sources. In regard to constitutional history there are admirable lists of references appended to the several chapters of Professor Kennedy's *Constitution of Canada* already mentioned. None of these works, however, is intended specially to guide in forming a collection, but rather to assist the student in using available material. The only volume which is both a selective bibliography covering the whole field and a guide to the study of special topics, and is at the same time intended to afford systematic aid in building up a well-rounded library of Canadiana, whether modest or ambitious in scope, is *Canadian history: a syllabus and guide to reading* (Toronto, 1926), by R. G. Trotter. Among other information intended primarily for the librarian and bibliographer, given in this book, is an extensive list of bibliographies dealing, in part or in whole, with Canadian history. The scope of most of these is indicated by their titles. Among those limited to Canadiana the most useful in a general way are H. J. Morgan, *Bibliotheca Canadensis* (Ottawa, 1867), and P. Gagnon, *Essai de bibliographie canadienne* (Vol. I,

Quebec, 1895; Vol. II, Montreal, 1913). For works published since the middle nineties of the last century an exhaustive critical guide is provided in the *Review of historical publications relating to Canada* (Toronto, 1897, etc.), edited by G. M. Wrong, H. H. Langton, and W. S. Wallace, and published annually for a score of years, and then giving way to the invaluable *Canadian historical review* (Toronto), edited by W. S. Wallace, and published quarterly since March, 1920. Besides articles dealing with historical topics, and reviews of outstanding works as they appear, this journal regularly contains a complete list of current publications, articles in periodicals as well as books, relating to the history of Canada.

A brief perusal of the pages of the *Review* is convincing evidence of the diversity and richness of the field which it tills. Much spade work is yet to be done, no doubt. Almost every day fresh source materials of exceeding importance are becoming accessible, in our various archives and elsewhere, which make necessary and at the same time possible the retelling of important chapters of history. Perhaps some day some genius will write the one great epic history of the unique and romantic rise of this young nation. Meanwhile, however, the student need not wait with folded hands. There is already a literature upon the subject worthy of his devoted inspection and more extensive than he is likely to master in many a twelve-month.

SOME NOTES ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CANADIAN HISTORY

BY FRED LANDON

THE purpose of this paper is to present, in brief form, some facts and suggestions which may aid reference librarians, particularly those in the United States, in questions related to Canadian history. The fact that the meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America was held at Toronto in 1927, the year that was the Jubilee of Confederation, may be given as a partial excuse for dealing with things Canadian. One result of our celebration of the Jubilee of Confederation may be the stimulation of interest in things Canadian on the part of other peoples. One cannot doubt that the next few years will see a vastly greater interest in Canada on the part of the people of the United States. Travel has almost broken down international boundaries, and the growing closeness of our relations is indicated by the presence in 1927 for the first time at Washington of a Canadian minister and at Ottawa of an American minister. The present problems of one country are in many cases those of the other; some of the problems of the United States of yesterday are ours today. Some things we are attempting to do in co-operation. In American universities there is a growing interest in Canadian history, and American students come in increasing numbers for research in the Canadian archives.

The existing conditions with respect to the bibliography of Canadiana in general may be described as in a most unsatis-

factory state. The librarian of the University of Toronto, Mr. W. S. Wallace, has stated in a recent article:

> Not only is there no subject-index of Canadian literature, historical or otherwise, in existence; but there is nothing like an adequate author-catalogue of Canadian books available. It is a commonplace of research that the first step of an investigator must be to compile a list of what has been published in the field he intends to investigate. Yet the student of Canadian history, for example, must, in compiling a bibliography, have recourse to a multitude of miscellaneous sources—to finding lists of public and even private libraries, to catalogues of booksellers, to English and American author-dictionaries, to book indexes and to learned footnotes—and even then he cannot be reasonably certain that some important contributions to his subject have not escaped him. Add to this the fact that there is no bibliography of Canadian bibliographies, no list of the bibliographical tools already in existence in Canada, and the plight of the student of Canadian history and literature will easily be understood.

While this concerns the research student rather more than the general reference librarian, it is of immediate concern to librarians to have some knowledge of what bibliographic tools are in existence and what general sources of information may be available. I will endeavor to indicate very briefly some of these and will also say something about our government documents.

In the field of history we have excellent bibliographic aids covering the last thirty years. In 1897 there appeared the first of a series of twenty-two annual volumes bearing the general title *Review of historical publications relating to Canada.* The editors were, at various times, Mr. W. A. Langton, formerly librarian of the University of Toronto; Professor George M. Wrong, of the department of history; and Mr. W. S. Wallace, the present librarian of the university. The purpose of this series was to record all historical publications relating to Canada. This series of volumes, together with its two decennial indexes, constitutes the most useful bibliographical tool avail-

able in this country. Since 1919 the *Review of historical publications* has been superseded by the *Canadian historical review*, issued quarterly and containing in addition to articles and signed reviews as complete a list as can be secured of all publications relating to Canadian history, economics, geography, statistics, educational and religious history, ethnology, and folk lore. The annual index provides access to the literature published in the fields above enumerated, and the scholarly character of the journal is assured by the name of its general editor, Mr. W. S. Wallace.

Apart from this we have practically no precise scientific bibliographic tools. Since 1901 the *Canadian annual review of public affairs* has contained each year a list of new Canadian books, and since 1923 the Toronto Public Library has issued annually a *Canadian catologue of books* which in recent years has become also the list for the *Annual review of public affairs*. This list is useful, but would be more useful if details of size and price were given and if, in the case of French-Canadian books, the name of the publisher and place of publication were given as well. The annual volume *Writings in American history*, now a part of the American Historical Association's annual report, includes Canada in its field but is less complete than the quarterly lists of the *Canadian historical review*.

During the last fifteen years there have been published in Canada three extensive co-operative works, known respectively as the "Makers of Canada," the "Chronicles of Canada," and "Canada and its provinces." In form, character, and type of usefulness they differ, and it may be profitable to point out the chief features of each of them.

The "Makers of Canada," as originally published, consisted of twenty volumes containing the lives of twenty-seven men prominent in Canadian annals and with a twenty-first volume containing an index of the whole. Some of the biographies were

of high standard and are not likely to be superseded for some time. A few were from the first regarded as inferior. In 1927 there was published a revised edition in which some of the biographies originally included have been superseded by others more scientific in treatment, and the list has also been extended by the inclusion of biographies of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Lord Strathcona, and Sir William Van Horne. This new edition has been published in twelve volumes. In the original edition the final volume was not only an index but also a dictionary of Canadian history and affairs. The Index to the new edition is an encyclopedic dictionary of Canadian history and progress, thoroughly revised, greatly expanded, and will be a most useful and comprehensive work of reference.

There has also recently appeared a work which will be of the greatest usefulness, the *Dictionary of Canadian biography*, edited by Mr. W. S. Wallace, librarian of the University of Toronto. Nearly two thousand biographies appear in this volume, limited to persons who are dead and whose careers are regarded as worthy of mention. The inclusion, at the end of each biography, of the chief sources of information, as is done in the great *Dictionary of national biography*, adds to the value of the work.

American librarians who are familiar with that remarkable series the "Chronicles of America," published by the Yale University Press, will perhaps recall that the inspiration and idea came from a similar series published in Canada at an earlier date and known as the "Chronicles of Canada." Handy in size, pleasing in apparance, well illustrated and written generally in a bright and interesting style, these volumes have done much to popularize Canadian history. They have been widely used in Canada for supplementary reading in high schools and for assigned reading in universities. Each separate volume of this series has an index and brief bibliographic notes, but there is no general index to the series.

The most extensive and most important co-operative work ever undertaken in this country is that known as "Canada and its provinces." Under the general editorship of Professor Adam Shortt and Dr. A. G. Doughty, of the Canadian Archives, there was brought together in twenty-three large volumes a most comprehensive survey of Canadian history, government and administration, economics, religion, education, literature, music, and art. About one hundred writers in all contributed to this undertaking, and in general the work was well done.

The twenty-third and index volume is a most valuable reference work. It includes the following features: (1) a general index to the preceding twenty-two volumes; (2) a list of manuscript sources used; (3) bibliographies of the broad divisions of Canadian history, politics, social, industrial, religious, and artistic progress and of the development of the separate provinces; (4) chronological outlines of Canada's history; (5) historical tables.

All of these large co-operative works were produced before 1914, in the decade of marked prosperity which this country enjoyed after 1900. They were perhaps an indication that the Dominion had passed out of the pioneer stage and with increased wealth and greater leisure was prepared to enjoy some of the things of the spirit.

It might be of interest to touch briefly on the character of Canadian government publications. In Canada there are both federal and provincial documents, just as in the United States there are both federal and state documents, and the division of powers between federal and provincial governments makes the publications of each of importance. For example, in Canada education is the concern of the provinces and not of the Dominion. There will, then, be practically no federal publications relating to education.

In the federal field we have first of all the records of Parlia-

ment in the debates of the House of Commons and the Senate, the journals of both houses, the reports of their committees, etc. The published debates of the House of Commons and Senate (commonly known as *Hansard*) provide an actual shorthand report of the speeches made in the two houses. Like the British *Hansard* they are original sources of information. American librarians sometimes discount the value of *Hansard* as a source of information, being unaware that in Canada there is no such device as "leave to print." With our cabinet ministers actually present on the floor of Parliament, explaining or defending their policies and actions, precisely as is the practice in Great Britain, it will be realized that *Hansard* is an important publication.

The reports of the various departments of government are issued annually and are very commonly referred to as "blue books" because of the rather general use of this color for their paper covers. Until recently it was the practice of Parliament to assemble and bind these in sets, forming a variable number of volumes from year to year, and when bound they were known as the "Sessional papers." This practice has been discontinued, but a somewhat similar set, made up chiefly of the annual reports of departments, has been provided by the King's Printer.

In addition to the annual reports, most departments of the federal government issue other publications. Some issue many in a year; others, but a few. The record of the appearance of these documents has, in the past, been far from satisfactory, and since Canadian libraries have had much trouble keeping track of them, no doubt American librarians have had still greater trouble. Arrangements are now being made, however, by which a list will be issued regularly from the office of the King's Printer at Ottawa giving information with regard to all publications. Another record which has been available is that provided by the monthly bulletin of the Professional Institute of the Civil Service of Canada which claims to be "the only pub-

lication in Canada which publishes from month to month a complete list of new publications issued by the several departments of the Dominion Government."

The distribution of Canadian government publications is centralized, as at Washington. For certain publications a charge is made. Other publications are distributed free of charge by the departments in which they originate.

The distribution of provincial documents varies from province to province. Some of the provincial publications are of much interest and importance. In Ontario, for example, such series as the reports of the Hydro-Electric Commission, of the Bureau of Mines, etc., are of general interest.

The value of some of the series of government reports scarcely needs emphasis. The story of the development of the Canadian West is told in the reports of the Department of the Interior, the Railways Department, and the Bureaus of Immigration and Colonization. Other phases of Canadian development may, in a similar way, be traced through the reports and publications of departments of government at Ottawa and in the separate provinces.

BRITISH COLUMBIA: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

BY R. L. REID, K.C.

PREFATORY NOTE

SAVE and except the "List of authorities" in I, xv–xlvi, of Scholefield and Howay's *History of British Columbia*, there has been no attempt to compile a bibliography of British Columbia. The *Pacific North West Americana*, by Charles W. Smith, of the University of Washington Library (New York, 1921), includes many books dealing with this province and the Canadian Yukon. Judge Howay's paper on "The early literature of the Northwest Coast" read before the Royal Society in 1924 is a most complete and able discussion of the publications relative to the exploration of that part of British Columbia prior to 1800. All of these authorities have been used freely in this paper, and it is only fair that this should be acknowledged here.

It is quite apparent that mention can only be made of a few of the books which would be inserted in a complete bibliography of the province. All I have attempted to do is to mention some of the most authoritative works relating to important events in the story of British Columbia and the Yukon.

I. EARLY EXPLORATION (MARITIME)

The literature of British Columbia commences with the Greek pilot Apostolos Valerianos, otherwise Juan de Fuca, and his supposed discovery of the straits which bear his name, as related in *Purchas his pilgrimes*.[1] The veracity or otherwise of the story cannot be discussed here. To the same period belong

[1] Original, 5 vols. London, 1625–26. Reprinted, 20. vols. Glasgow, 1905–7.

the story of Maldonado, as told by Amoretti[1] and that of De Fonte,[2] with others of the same ilk; probably more imaginative than veracious.

SPANISH EXPLORATION

The first reliable accounts of the northwest coast came from the Spanish explorers whose names still cling to many an island, bay, and river along our shores. They were not written for publication but solely for the information of the Spanish government. A number of them have been published in later days, either in the language in which they were written or in translation. A few of the most interesting still await translation into English.

The earliest of these is the voyage of the corvette "Santiago," in 1774, reported separately by two Franciscan friars, Crespi and Pena, who were with the expedition, and whose duties included that of keeping a record of the voyage for the information of their chief, the famous Junipero Serra. These were published, both in Spanish and in English, by the Historical Society of Southern California in 1891.[3]

Another expedition made in 1775 by the "Santiago" with the "Sonora" was reported by Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle, the second in command of the latter, and is to be found in Daines Barrington's *Miscellanies*.[4] Alessando Malaspina's *Viaje politico-cientifico, etc.*,[5] which Mr. Smith describes as "an important exploration covering the North West Coast"; Quadra's *Expeditions in the years 1775 and 1779, etc.*;[6] Joseph Mariano Mozino's

[1] Amoretti, Carlo. *Viaggio del Mare Atlantico al Pacifico, etc.*, Milano, 1810.

[2] "Memoirs of the curious," for April and June, 1709, London.

[3] *Historical Society of Southern California*, II, Part I, 81–213, Los Angeles, 1891.

[4] London, 1784, 4to, pp. 469–534 and 552.

[5] Madrid, 1885.

[6] In *Anuario de la Dirección de hidrografía, año III*, Madrid, 1865.

Noticias de Nutka[1] and *Relation del Viage, etc., Sutil Y. Mexicano en el ano de 1792*[2] belong to this class.

ENGLISH EXPLORERS

Captain James Cook was the first English explorer of the northwest coast. He had returned to England in 1774 from a second circumnavigation of the globe, and, by reason of his long experience in the South Seas, was selected by the British government as the one best fitted to undertake the task of settling, once and for all, the existence or non-existence of a northwest passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He left England in June, 1776, and was killed by the natives of the Hawaiian Islands in February, 1779. The expedition returned in October, 1780, and early in the spring of the next year there was published a story of the voyage.[3] The author's name was not given, nor any intentional suggestion as to his identity. This was due to the fact that by order of the admiralty all journals had been surrendered by the participants in the voyage so as to prevent any account being given to the world without the official sanction of the admiralty. Evidently someone was able to evade the order. The public was consumed with curiosity as to the occurrences on this famous voyage, and the insistent demand resulted in several editions being printed. It has generally been attributed to John Ledyard, an American traveler and author who accompanied Cook's expedition as a sergeant of marines, but, from the internal evidence afforded by the journal itself, Judge Howay asserts that it was written by John Rickman, the second lieutenant on the "Discovery" and later on the "Resolution." Soon after, William Ellis, assistant surgeon to the expedition, followed the example of the author of the anonymous journal and published his version of the voyage.[4]

[1] Ed. by Alberto M. Carreno, Mexico City, 1913. [2] Madrid, 1802.

[3] *Journal of Cook's last voyage, faithfully narrated from the original MS*, London, 1781.

[4] Ellis, William. *An authentic narrative of a voyage, etc., in search of a North West passage, etc.* 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1782.

The official account in three volumes, two written by Cook himself as the voyage proceeded, and the third by Captain James King, did not appear until 1784.[1] It is impossible to overestimate the importance of this splendid work for the history of the northwest coast. The life and adventures of Captain Cook have ever since been a matter of interest to the English people, and many books on his life and adventures have been written in later days.[2] An account of his voyage to the North West Coast in German by Heinrich Zimmermann was published at Mannheim in 1781 and is extremely rare. An annotated translation of this book by Miss U. Tewsley, of the Alexander Turnbull Library at Wellington, New Zealand, was published there in 1926, and another is being issued by the RyersonPress in Toronto, with annotations by Judge Howay, of New Westminster, B.C. The first American account of Cook's voyages (or, indeed, of the northwest coast) was written by John Ledyard, a native of Connecticut who accompanied Cook as corporal of marines on board the "Resolution." He returned to his own country in 1782 and, with the assistance of the anonymous (Rickman's) journal, compiled and published an account of the voyage.[3] His life and travels, by Jared Sparks,[4] also contain many references to the voyage.

Not satisfied with the discoveries made by Captain Cook, Great Britain sent another expedition to the northwest coast in 1791. It was commanded by Captain George Vancouver in the "Discovery" and Lieutenant William R. Broughton in the

[1] Cook, James. *A voyage to the Pacific Ocean, &c.*, 3 vols. 4to and atlas fol. London, 1784.

[2] Kippis, Andrew. *Life of Cook.* 4to. London, 1788.

Besant, Sir Walter. *Captain Cook*, London, 1894.

Kittson, Arthur. *Captain James Cook, the circumnavigator*, New York and London, 1907.

[3] Ledyard, John. *A journal of Captain Cook's last voyage.* 12mo. Hartford, 1783.

[4] *Memoirs of the life and travels of John Ledyard*, Cambridge, Mass., 1828. Reprinted as *Travels and adventures of John Ledyard*, without the author's name, London, 1834.

"Chatham." It returned in 1795. The official account by Vancouver is the most important of the early works on the northwest coast. It passed into many editions, both in English and in other languages.[1] With the expedition was a naturalist, one Archibald Menzies, whose journal, abounding in scientific detail, has been lately published by the Archives Department of the government of British Columbia.[2] This Department has also published another interesting memoir establishing the fact that Vancouver in 1792 was the first to complete the navigation of the inner channels which separate the island which bears his name from the mainland.[3] Interesting details of his early life will be found in a small volume published recently by a resident of his birthplace, King's Lynn, Norfolk, England.[4] Captains Portlock[5] and Dixon[6] in the "King George" and "Queen Charlotte" made a voyage to the coast, 1785–88, and each published his story of the expedition. The Dixon account is in the form of letters signed "W.B." to a friend in England. "W.B." evidently refers to William Beresford, the supercargo of Dixon's ship, the "Queen Charlotte." This same "W.B." wrote an account of the voyage, which was translated by John Reinhold Forster.[7] Judge Howay speaks highly of the story told by John Nicol, a seaman with Captain Portlock on the "King George."[8]

[1] Vancouver, Captain George. *Voyage of discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, etc.* 3 vols., 4to, and folio atlas of maps, London, 1798; 8vo, 6 vols., London, 1801.

[2] *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's voyage*, Archives Department, Victoria, B.C., 1923. (Memoir No. V.)

[3] Newcombe, Charles Frederic. *The first circumnavigation of Vancouver Island*, Victoria, B.C., 1914. (Memoir No. I.)

[4] Anderson, G. H. *Vancouver and his great voyage, etc.* King's Lynn, England, 1923.

[5] Portlock, Captain Nathaniel. *Voyage round the world, etc.* 4to. London, 1789.

[6] Dixon, Captain George. *Voyage round the world, etc.* 4to. London, 1789.

[7] *Capitaine Portlock und Dixon's Reise um die Welt, etc.* 4to. Berlin, 1790.

[8] *Life and adventures of John Nicol*, Edinburgh, 1822. Reprinted in *The sea, the ship and the sailor* (published by the Marine Research Society, Salem, Mass., 1925). pp. 105–167.

FRENCH EXPLORERS

There were three French explorers of the northwest coast, La Pérouse, Marchand, and Roquefeuil. It is true that another Frenchman, Captain Peron, wrote an account of a voyage to the northwest coast,[1] but he made the voyage, not on a French ship, but as the first officer of the Boston ship "Otter." His book has never been translated into English.

After the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, in which he took a prominent part in the French assistance to the revolting colonies, La Pérouse set off on a voyage to explore that part of the northwest coast which had not been examined by Captain Cook. From Avatcha in Kamchatka he forwarded to Paris a description of his voyage along the coast of America. A further instalment of his travels was sent to Paris from Botany Bay. Nothing was heard of him from the time he left that point until 1826, when an English captain[2] ascertained that his ships had been wrecked in a storm on a coral reef off Vandikoro, north of the New Hebrides. The National Assembly ordered the account of his voyage to be published at the expense of the nation, but the republic had come into existence before this magnificent work was issued to the world.[3] A translation was published the next year in England. Etienne Marchand, with the ship "La Solide" of Marseilles, traded along the northwest coast in 1791 as far north as the Queen Charlotte Islands. He died on a voyage to Mauritius in 1792 and his papers were lost; but the story of his voyage was written by Comte de Fleurieu from the log book of "La Solide" and from a diary kept by Chanal, the second in command.[4] The voyage of Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil was undertaken during 1816–19. On his

[1] Peron, Captain. *Mémoires.* 2 vols. Paris, 1824. [2] See final note.

[3] Lapérouse, Jean François de Galaup, Comte de. *Voyage autour du monde.* 4 vols., 4to, and atlas folio. Paris An. V. (1797).

[4] Fleurieu, Charles Pierre Claret, Comte de. *Voyage autour du monde.* 4 vols. 4to. 1798–1800.

return to Paris he published an account of his experiences in the Pacific.[1]

AMERICAN EXPLORERS

Although citizens of the United States soon took up the fur trade on the northwest coast, almost to the exclusion of other nations, they made no attempt to publish any account of their discoveries. Even the official log of the "Columbia" has been lost; but there is an extract from the second volume of it published in Senate Document 470 (25th Cong., 2nd sess., "Congressional series," Vol. 318) and also in Greenhow's *History of Oregon*, (Boston, 1844), pages 434–36. John Boit's log of the same voyage was published in part in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XII, 3–50, and in full in Volume LIII of the *Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, and in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXII, 257–349, with annotations by Judge Howay and T. C. Elliott. The voyage of the "Juno"—1804–8—by Captain John De Wolf, of Bristol, Massachusetts, will be found in *Tales of an old seaport* by W. H. Munro, Princeton, New Jersey, 1917. A famous book on the northwest coast which passed into many editions is the story of the adventures of one John Jewitt who was one of the two survivors of the crew of the "Boston" captured by the Indians at Nootka in 1803.[2]

NOOTKA SOUND CONTROVERSY

Disputes arising in the last quarter of the eighteenth century between the representative of the Spanish government at Nootka, an almost forgotten spot on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and English fur-traders endeavoring to establish a trading post there, brought the two great powers to the verge of war. To some it seemed to be a miserable squabble over a few

[1] Roquefeuil, Camille de. *Journal d'un voyage autour du monde, 1816–19.* 2 vols. Paris, 1823.

[2] Published in diary form, Boston, 1807; and as a narrative, Middletown, March, 1815, and July, 1915. Best edition edited by Brown, London, 1896.

huts on the inhospitable coast of a worthless country far from civilization; to others, a decisive conflict between two great colonial principles of which England and Spain were the respective exponents.

The story of the Nootka Sound affair has been so clearly and judicially told by Professor William R. Manning[1] that it is not necessary to repeat it here. The chief actors in the drama, who have left us accounts of the trouble, in whole or in part, are John Meares, a retired lieutenant of the Royal Navy, who commanded an expedition to the northwest coast in 1786–87 and again in 1788. In 1790 he published a long account of his voyages to China and the northwest coast of North America.[2] Prior to its issue he had addressed a memoir to the British government setting forth his troubles with the Spaniards at Nootka, with depositions in support of his claims.[3] He also had a virulent controversy with Captain Dixon with reference to certain criticisms made by the latter on the statements made in the *Voyages*.[4]

With Meares was associated Captain James Colnett, who in 1798, in a volume describing a later voyage to the South Atlantic, harks back to earlier days, and at page 96 gives an account of the seizure of the ship "Argonaut" in 1789 and of the imprisonment of himself and his crew by the Spaniards at Nootka on his arrival there to take possession.[5]

[1] *The Nootka Sound controversy—Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1904* (Washington, D.C.), pp. 281–471.

[2] MEARES, JOHN. *Voyages made in the years 1788–89 from China to the North West coast of America, &c.* 4to. London, 1790.

[3] MEARES, JOHN. *Memorial*, dated April 30, 1790, London, 1790 (the official publication). Reprinted in the same year for general publication. Some copies of the *Memoir* as reprinted have the date "1760," a misprint for "1790."

[4] MEARES, JOHN. *An answer to Mr. Geo. Dixon, etc.*, London, 1790. The pamphlets in the Meares-Dixon controversy, which are extremely rare, are being reprinted by the Ryerson Press, Toronto, with notes by Judge Howay.

[5] COLNETT, CAPTAIN JAMES. *Voyage to the South Atlantic, &c.* 4to. London, 1798.

Other books of great interest and authority relating to the period of exploration of the northwest coast are mentioned hereunder.[1]

II. EXPLORATION OF THE INTERIOR

Among the employees of the North West Company, the great rival of the Hudson's Bay Company until the amalgamation in 1821, was Alexander MacKenzie, a sturdy son of Scotland. Although an employee of a fur-trading company he could not be content to seek pelts but longed to pierce the darkness which covered the unexplored west. His ambition was to discover a way overland to that great ocean which had been furrowed by the keels of Cook's ships. If he could find a river flowing into Cook's inlet on the Pacific, he could revolutionize western commerce. With this object in view, he started out in 1789 to follow his dream. He followed the outlet of Great Slave Lake, but this led him not west but north to the Arctic Ocean along the great river which has ever since, quite appropriately, borne his name. In 1793 he made another attempt to reach the western sea, striking directly across the continent toward his goal. With only nine associates he made his way through unknown lands peopled by savage tribes, until after undergoing hardships innumerable he reached the salt waters of the Pacific at Bella Coola on Bentinck Arm; the first civilized man to make the great traverse of the northern part of the continent. On his return to Great Britain he published an account of his travels north on the MacKenzie River to the Arctic and west to the Pacific.[2] The many editions of his book both in English and in other languages, which have continued

[1] Forster, John Reinhold. *History of the voyages, etc.*, 4to. London, 1786.
Tytler, P. F. *Historical view of the progress of discovery, etc.*, Edinburgh, 1832.
Burpee, L. J. *The search for the Western Sea*, New York, 1908.
Denton, V. L. *The Far West Coast*, Toronto, 1924.

[2] MacKenzie, Alexander. *Voyages from Montreal in 1789–1793, etc.* 4to. London, 1801.

to be published, even as late as 1922, bear witness to its interest and value.

During the year 1927 several interesting accounts of MacKenzie's life and travels have been written and published by Canadian writers.[1]

Next after MacKenzie followed Simon Fraser, another of those indomitable Scots of the North West Company. In 1805 he was sent to occupy the country west of the Rockies. One cannot help wondering if the Lewis and Clark Expedition, which started the year before, had anything to do with this particular activity of the North West Company, and whether it was a move to anticipate the effects of any discoveries which it might make. However that may be, he left Fort William on Lake Superior in August of that year, but it was not until 1808 that he was able to proceed on his voyage of discovery. He was a better fur-trader than penman, and he did not attempt to publish any account of his journey. Following, however, the practice of the fur-traders, he kept a daily journal of his experiences. A portion of this, containing the account of his descent of the Fraser, was published by Senator Masson in 1889.[2]

The third of the great explorers of the interior was David Thompson, an orphan boy from the Grey Coat School at Westminster. He was apprenticed to the Hudson's Bay Company and left London for America in 1784. He became, says J. B. Tyrrell, the greatest practical land geographer that the world has produced. The first part of his life was spent in that part of America which now comprises the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia, and the states of Montana, Idaho, and Wash-

[1] Wade, M. S. *MacKenzie of Canada.* 8vo. Edinburgh and London, 1927.

Woollacott, Arthur Phillip. *MacKenzie and his voyageurs.* 8vo. London and Toronto, 1927.

Wrong, Hume. *Alexander MacKenzie.* 8vo. Toronto, 1927.

[2] Fraser, Simon. "Journal," in *Les Bourgeois de la compagnie du Nord-Ouest,* by Louis François Rodigue Masson, Quebec, 1889, I, 157–221.

ington; the latter part, as astronomer to the International Boundary Commission, surveying the boundary line between British North America and the United States from St. Regis, Quebec, to the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods. During his later years (he died in 1857) he wrote a narrative of his work in the West, but it was not published until 1916.[1] Much of the material in his journals has been used by Elliott Coues in his work on the great northwest.[2]

The great botanist, David Douglas, from whom the Douglas fir receives its name, was first sent to the United States by the Royal Horticultural Society of London. Later, (1824–27) he was sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to Northwest America. His journal has been lately published by the Society above named.[3]

Some of the books written by persons actually taking part in the fur trade are of great historical and ethnological value. Daniel W. Harmon, a native of Connecticut, and an employee of the North West Company, was directed in 1810 to proceed to New Caledonia (now the northern interior of British Columbia), and take charge of the posts in that district. Here he lived until 1819 when he returned to his native land and published his journal,[4] an illuminating document both as to the nature of the man himself, so different from what one ordinarily pictures the typical fur-trader, and also as to the conditions in the interior part of the country during the period in question. His account is corroborated and amplified by John McLean, of the

[1] *David Thompson's narrative of his explorations in Western America, 1784–1812* (ed. J. Burr Tyrrell), published by Champlain Society, roy. 8vo. Toronto, 1916.

[2] Coues, Elliott. *New light on the early history of the Greater North West, etc.* 3 vols. 8vo. New York, 1897.

[3] Douglas, David, *Journal kept by, during his travels in North America 1823–27*, 8vo. London, 1914.

[4] Harmon, Daniel William. *A Journal of voyages and travels in the interior of North America, etc.*, Andover, Mass., 1820.

Hudson's Bay Company,[1] the first volume of which refers in part to the northern interior of British Columbia.

John Dunn, another Hudson's Bay trader, gives us, in the latter part of his *Oregon territory*, an account of British Columbia and especially of the coast district and the peoples inhabiting it.[2] Paul Kane, the celebrated artist and traveler, also visited Vancouver Island in 1847, and has left us a volume describing his travels, illustrated with colored drawings, which is a unique souvenir of the early days.[3]

III. GENERAL HISTORIES

Various histories have been issued of the province of British Columbia, but a moderate-sized popular history[4] has only lately been written. The earliest attempt at a detailed history of British Columbia were the volumes on British Columbia and the northwest coast in the Bancroft series of histories of the Pacific Coast.[5] In these may be found a vast amount of interesting material, but many sources of information have since become available, which were not accessible to him, so that they must now be used with considerable care. Moreover, many things have happened in the province since Bancroft's time.

In 1894 one Alexander Begg, C.C., published a so-called *History of British Columbia*, but it is merely a series of disjointed annals.[6] It may be interesting to note that the author of the *History of British Columbia* is not the historian of the same name

[1] McLean, John. *Notes of a twenty-five years' service of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory*. 2 vols. 8 vo. London, 1849.

[2] Dunn, John. *History of the Oregon Territory and British North America fur trade, etc.*, 8vo. London, 1844.

[3] Kane, Paul. *Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America, &c.*, 8vo. London, 1859.

[4] See final note, p. 44.

[5] Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *History of British Columbia, 1792–1887*, 8vo. San Francisco, 1890; *History of the North West Coast*. 2 vols. 8vo. San Francisco, 1886.

[6] Begg, Alexander, c.c. *History of British Columbia, etc.*, 8vo. Toronto, 1894.

who wrote the *History of the North West*,[1] although both were published in Toronto in the same year. Alexander Begg, C.C., a native of Scotland, but with long experience in Canada, was engaged by the British Columbia government to arrange for the settlement of Crofters from Scotland on the Pacific Coast, and to distinguish himself from his Winnipeg namesake, he always added to his signature the letters C.C. (Crofter Commissioner). The other Alexander Begg was a merchant and newspaper man long resident in Winnipeg and the author of several books relating to Manitoba and the northwest.

A most reliable and complete history of British Columbia was written by the late E. O. S. Scholefield, provincial librarian, and Judge Howay, and published at Vancouver in 1914; the first volume being by Mr. Scholefield and the second by his collaborator. The third and fourth volumes are biographies of various residents of the province.

Cogswell's *History of British Columbia*[2] is an elementary history of the province, adapted for the use of schools.

Of histories having less extended scope, one cannot omit Rev. A. G. Morice's *Account of the days of the Hudson's Bay times in the northern interior*,[3] which is a reconstruction from original documents of a period and a district of which little was known before its appearance.

Captain John Walbran's *British Columbia coast names* published by the Dominion government at Ottawa, 1909, is a mine of information as to the nomenclature of the coast. It will be noted that the back label uses the words "place names" instead of "coast names." The place names in the interior of the province are not included. This was published in a limited edition

[1] Begg, Alexander. *History of the North West*, Toronto, 1894.

[2] Cogswell, Oliver H. *History of British Columbia*, Cr. 8vo. Victoria, 1893.

[3] Morice, Rev. Adrien Gabriel, o.m.i. *History of the northern interior of British Columbia (1660–1880)*, 8vo. Toronto, 1904.

and has become quite rare. The biography of Sir James Douglas by R. H. Coates and R. E. Gosnell (Toronto, 1912) is really a history of the two provinces before amalgamation and during his life as governor of both, and especially of the stirring days of the Cariboo gold excitement, 1858–62. Those interested in shipping on the Pacific Coast prior to 1895 should consult the elaborate *Marine history of the Pacific north west*, by Lewis and Dryden, published at Portland, Oregon, in 1895.

IV. GOLDEN CARIBOO

Prior to the discovery of gold in the Fraser River in 1857, the colony of Vancouver Island, so far as the non-Indian population was concerned, consisted almost entirely of the Hudson's Bay trading post at Victoria, and a coal-mining viliage at Nanaimo. The mainland part of the province was uninhabited, except by the Indians and the fur-traders at the Hudson's Bay forts. Alfred Waddington, in a little book written in 1858,[1] describes Victoria, as he saw it when he landed there in the spring of that year, as

> a quiet village of about 800 inhabitants. No noise, no bustle, no speculators or interested parties to preach this or underrate that. A few quiet gentlemen, behaved inhabitants, chiefly Scotchmen, secluded as it were from the whole world, and reminding one forcibly of the line of Virgil "Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos." . . . . As to business there was none, the streets were grown over with grass, and there was not even a cart.

And yet this colony, by direct orders from London, was the proud possessor of a two-chambered legislature of its very own. Memoirs II, III, and IV of the Archives of British Columbia, published by the Archives Department at Victoria in 1918, give in detail the minutes of the two legislative bodies during those somnolent days, together with the House of Assembly correspondence book during the years 1856–59.

With the discovery of gold in the Fraser followed the stam-

[1] Waddington, Alfred. *The Fraser mines vindicated*, 8vo. Victoria, 1858.

pede which invariably accompanies such an event. The first literary products were handbooks or manuals giving information as to the location of the new gold fields and the means of access thereto, none of any literary value, although difficult to obtain now by reason of their rarity. Some were published in Great Britain,[1] and others in San Francisco.[2]

When the mines on the Fraser River and its tributaries through the Cariboo Mountains proved a veritable golconda, there was a demand for further information about the country in which they were located. Unfortunately the Cariboo mines never produced a Bret Harte to tell their story. With the exception of one volume by R. Byron Johnson which may be classed, in some details, as the product of the imagination,[3] the most of the books published to meet the demand were matter-of-fact affairs. The staples are those written by Commander Mayne, of "H. M. S. Plumper," who was stationed at Esquimalt, 1857–61;[4] Rev. Matthew Macfie, a Congregationalist minister resident in Victoria, 1859–64;[5] and D. G. F. MacDonald, of the Government Survey Staff and the International Boundary Commission.[6] The two first mentioned were genuinely in love with the new land to which their duties led them; but the third was ex-

[1] Ballantyne, Robert Michael. *Handbook of the new gold fields, etc.*, 12 mo. Edinburgh, 1858; *Handbook of British Columbia, etc.*, London (1862); *Cariboo, The newly discovered gold fields of British Columbia, etc.*, London, 1862.

Kinahan, Cornwallis. *The new eldorado* (2 eds. in 1858).

Hazlitt, Wm. Carew. *British Columbia, and Vancouver Island, etc.*, 12 mo. London, 1858, and *The great gold fields of Cariboo, etc.*, 12 mo. London, 1862.

[2] DeGroot, Henry. *British Columbia, Its condition, etc.* San Francisco, 1859.

[3] Johnson, Richard Byron. *Very far west indeed, &c.*, cr. 8vo. London, 1872.

[4] Mayne, Commr. Richard Charles. *Four years in British Columbia, and Vancouver Island &c.*, 8vo. London, 1862.

[5] Macfie, Rev. Matthew. *British Columbia and Vancouver Island &c.*, 8vo. London, 1865.

[6] MacDonald, Duncan George Forbes. *British Columbia and Vancouver Island, &c.*, 8vo. London, 1862.

ceedingly pessimistic as to the future of Canada's far-west province. Several travelers through the land have told of their experiences: Barrett-Lennard,[1] Milton and Cheadle,[2] and others. Major Downie, a California miner who prospected and explored here for many years, gives us enough of his adventures to make us wish for more;[3] and participants in the establishment of the boundary line on the forty-ninth parallel have left a record of their work and the circumstances under which it was carried out.[4] Judge Howay has published a series of interesting documents which shed new light on the condition of things during the hectic period of the early days of gold-mining on the Fraser River in 1858, with a scholarly introduction;[5] the writer of this paper has endeavored to sketch the monetary difficulties of the Cariboo days and the abortive attempt to establish a local currency.[6] Regarding postal system, see final note.

OREGON BOUNDARY

But prior to the peaceful survey of a line agreed on, there had been a long and somewhat acrimonious diplomatic struggle as to where such line should be. Through the United States had resounded the slogan "Fifty-four forty or fight"; and if this parallel had been made the northern boundary of the great republic, west of the Rockies, Canada would never have had a

[1] Barrett-Lennard, C. E. *Travels in British Columbia*, 8vo. London, 1862.

[2] Milton, Viscount, and Cheadle, W. B. *The North West Passage by land*, 8vo. London, 1865.

[3] Downie, William. *Hunting for gold, &c.*, 8vo. San Francisco, 1893.

[4] Lord, John Keast. *The naturalist in Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, 8vo. London, 1866; *At home in the wilderness*, 8vo. London, 1867.

Watson, Sir Charles M. *The life of Major General Sir Chas. W. Wilson*, 8 vo. London, 1909 (see pp. 13–40).

[5] Howay, Federic William. *The early history of the Fraser River mines*, Victoria, B.C., 1926. (Memoir No. VI.)

[6] Reid, Robie Lewis. *The Assay Office and the proposed mint at New Westminster, &c.*, Archives Department, Victoria, 1926. (Memoir No. VII.)

seaport on the Pacific. England's main claim was the Columbia River to its mouth. After long discussion the forty-ninth parallel was agreed upon as the boundary.

The chief authorities favoring the claims of the United States are Farnham,[1] Greenhow,[2] Gallatin,[3] Sturges,[4] Barrows,[5] Schaefer,[6] and Binger.[7] Richard Rush describes the diplomatic struggles from the United States point of view.[8] The English side of the story is told by Falconer,[9] Nicolay,[10] Thom,[11] and Twiss.[12] Eells[13] and Nixon[14] uphold the legend that the emigration to the Oregon territory from the more easterly parts of the United States was due to the efforts of Rev. Marcus Whitman, which Marshall[15] has absolutely and forever demolished.

SAN JUAN WATER BOUNDARY

But no sooner was the main boundary settled and surveyed than a dispute arose as to which channel was to be followed through the islands which lie between the southern end of Van-

[1] Farnham, Thomas J. *History of the Oregon Territory &c.*, 8vo. New York, 1844.

[2] Greenhow, Robert. *History of Oregon, &c.*, 8vo. Boston, 1844; *Memoir, &c.*, 8vo. New York, 1840.

[3] Gallatin, Albert. *The Oregon question*, 8vo. New York, 1846.

[4] Sturges, William. *The Oregon question*, 8vo. Boston, 1845.

[5] Barrows, William. *Oregon, the struggle for possession*, 8 vo. Boston, 1884.

[6] Schaefer, Joseph. *Acquisition of Oregon Territory*, 8vo. Eugene, Ore., 1908.

[7] Binger, Herman. *The Louisiana Purchase*, sq. 8vo. Washington, 1898.

[8] Rush, Richard. *A residence at the court of London, 1819–25.* 2 vols. 8vo. London and Philadelphia, 1833; *A residence at the court of London* (2d ser.). 2 vols. 8vo. London and Philadelphia, 1845.

[9] Falconer, Thomas. *The Oregon question*, 8vo. London, 1845.

[10] Nicolay, Chas. Grenfell. *Oregon Territory, &c.*, 16mo. London, 1846.

[11] Thom, Adam. *The claims to the Oregon Territory, &c.*, 8vo. London, 1844.

[12] Twiss, Travers. *Oregon question examined*, London and New York, 1846.

[13] Eells, Rev. Myron. *Marcus Whitman, pathfinder and patriot*, Seattle, 1909.

[14] Nixon, Oliver W. *Whitman's ride through savage lands*, n.p., 1905; *How Marcus Whitman saved Oregon*, Chicago, 1895.

[15] Marshall, William J. *Acquisition of Oregon.* 2 vols. 8vo. Seattle, 1911.

couver Island and the mainland. The words of the treaty carried the boundary on the forty-ninth parallel of latitude "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island: and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel and of Fuca Straits to the Pacific Ocean." But there were two channels, some said three, which could be followed under the foregoing description. Rosario Strait, near the mainland, would give the bulk of the islands to Great Britain; the Canal DeHaro, which follows near the eastern side of Vancouver Island, would give them to the United States. The usual difference of opinion existed, and after some controversy the matter was referred to the Emperor of Germany, who in 1872 decided the dispute in favor of the United States. The leading advocate of the claim of the United States was Caleb Cushing[1] and for the British, Viscount Milton.[2] The official publications are set out below.[3]

ALASKA BOUNDARY

Still another boundary dispute arose which had to be settled. Differences arose over the proper location of the line of demarcation between the panhandle of Southern Alaska and the province of British Columbia. As in the San Juan matter, it was due to the lack of knowledge possessed by the treaty-makers as to the topography of the country in question. There were

[1] Cushing, Caleb. *The treaty of Washington*, 8vo. New York, 1873, pp. 220–25.

[2] Milton, William Fitzwilliam, Viscount. *San Juan water boundary*, 8vo. London, 1869.

[3] *Correspondence respecting negotiations with the United States Government on the question of . . . . the San Juan water boundary*, London, [1869]; (House of Commons, Sessional papers, 1868–69, Vol. 63); *North West America Water boundary*, presented to Parliament in 1873, London, [1873]. 7 vols. in one, and with the protocol, 1 vol. more (House of Commons, Sessional papers, 1873, Vol. 74); *North West boundary: Discussion of the water boundary question, &c.*, Washington, 1868; (Congressional series, Vol. 1316); *Papers relating to the treaty of Washington*, Vol. V, *Berlin Arbitration*, Washington, 1872 (Congressional series, Vol. 1557), which gives the arguments in the arbitration on both sides.

more diplomatic exchanges; more pamphlets by citizens of each country upholding their country's claims. Another arbitral award, upholding in great part the contention of the United States, was given by the votes of its three representatives and that of Sir Richard Webster, one of the representatives of Great Britain. On the American side of the controversy were Thomas W. Balch,[1] Davidson,[2] and E. S. Balch;[3] on the Canadian side, Hodgins[4] and the anonymous author of *Alaska, Canada's Alaskan dismemberment.*[5] The official documents published by both governments in 1903 respecting the arbitration (Smith, *Pacific North West Americana*, Nos. 39, 40, 41, and 42) are a mine of information in respect to the history of the northern part of the northwest coast.

V. CONFEDERATION

In 1865 the two provinces of British Columbia and Vancouver Island were united under the name of British Columbia.[6] In 1871, after a protracted agitation, the united province became a portion of the Dominion of Canada. The story of the agitation leading up to the union is told in detail in Scholefield and Howay's *British Columbia.*[7] The official papers issued by the imperial government in 1869 show one phase of the matter.[8] R. E. Gosnell, formerly of Victoria, and now of Ottawa, has de-

[1] Balch, Thomas Willing. *The Alaska-Canadian frontier*, Philadelphia, 1902.

[2] Davidson, George. *The Alaska boundary*, 8vo. San Francisco, 1903.

[3] Balch, E. S. *Letters and papers relating to the Alaska frontier*, Philadelphia, 1904.

[4] Hodgins, Thomas. *The Alaska-Canadian boundary dispute*, 8vo. Toronto, 1902; *The Alaska boundary tribunal*, 8vo. Toronto, 1904.

[5] Niagara on the Lake, 8vo. Ontario, 1904.

[6] *Papers relative to the proposed union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, 31st May 1866, 25th June 1866, and May 1867.* fol.

Scholefield and Howay. *British Columbia*, II, 215–29.

[7] *Op. cit.*, II, 277–98.

[8] *Papers on the union of British Columbia, with the Dominion of Canada, August 2, 1869.* fol.

voted the major part of his *Story of Confederation*[1] to the entrance of British Columbia into the Dominion, and Judge Howay has given it detailed consideration in two papers read before the Royal Society of Canada.[2]

VI. THE CANADIAN PACIFIC AND GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC RAILWAYS

The vision of a railway across Canada from east to west antedated its actual construction by many years. Sir R. H. Bonnycastle in 1846,[3] Major Carmichael-Smyth in 1847,[4] Wilson and Richards in 1850,[5] Judge Haliburton in 1860,[6] Rattray in 1862,[7] and many others visioned its early completion. One of the terms on which British Columbia entered into the union with Canada was that a railway to the Pacific should be commenced within two years and completed within ten.[8] Exploration in search of an available route through the Rockies and the investigations necessary for the selection of a terminal port went on apace. Alfred Waddington, of Victoria, championed Bute Inlet as the proper terminus of the railway;[9] others, Esquimalt

[1] Gosnell, Robert Edward. *The story of confederation*, 8vo. n.p. (1918).

[2] Howay, F. W. "The attitude of Governor Seymour towards confederation," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, (1920), Sec. II, pp. 31–49; "Governor Musgrave and confederation," *ibid.* (1921), Sec. II, pp. 15–31.

[3] Bonnycastle, Sir Richard Henry. *Canada and the Canadians in 1846.* 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1846 (see I, 138).

[4] Carmichael-Smyth, Major Robert. *Letter from, to his friend the author of "The Clockmaker," &c.*, 8vo. London, 1849.

[5] Wilson, F. A., and Richards, Alfred B. *Britain redeemed and Canada preserved*, 8vo. London, 1850.

[6] Haliburton, T. C. *The season ticket*, London, 1860 (see pp. 13, 14, 19, and 27).

[7] Rattray, Alexander. *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, 8vo. London, 1862 (see pp. 135–36).

[8] Terms of union. In Scholefield and Howay, I, 695–97.

[9] Waddington, Alfred. *Overland route through British North America, &c.*, London, 1868; *Sketch of the proposed line of Overland Railroad*, Ottawa, 1870.

at the southern end of Vancouver Island;[1] and some, Burrard Inlet, on whose shores the city of Vancouver now stands.[2] Sir Sandford Fleming, a noted Canadian engineer, took charge of the work, and exploratory surveys were carried vigorously forward. From 1872 to the completion of the railway, reports were issued giving an account of the work done during the year, the country surveyed and mapped, and a wealth of information published about Western Canada in general. Notwithstanding various troubles—political, financial, and otherwise—the work was pushed along until the last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway was driven, not indeed within the time allotted by the terms of union, but in November, 1885.

During the years of construction a number of books were published concerning Western Canada and the route of the proposed railway. Fleming, the chief engineer, made his first trip across the continent in 1872, a record of which was published by Rev. George M. Grant, who accompanied him.[3] He made another trip in 1883, also in company with Mr. Grant, but this time he wrote his own account.[4]

Later, some histories of Canada's first transcontinental railway have been published, one by Keith Morris,[5] a series of interesting sketches; another by Innis,[6] severely correct and statistical; and still another by MacBeth,[7] picturesque and graphic.

In the early part of the present century two further trans-

[1] *Reply to letter of "Old Settler," &c.*, London, 1877.

[2] Dewdney, Edgar. *Pacific Railway route*, n.p., n.d. (1878).

[3] Grant, Rev. George M. *Ocean to ocean, &c.*, 8vo. Toronto and London, 1873.

[4] Fleming, Sir Sandford. *England and Canada. A summer tour between Old and New Westminster*, 8vo. London, 1884.

[5] Morris, Keith. *The story of the Canadian Pacific Railway*. 8vo. London, 1916.

[6] Innis, Harold Adams. *A history of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 8vo. London and Toronto, 1923.

[7] MacBeth, Rev. Roderick George. *The romance of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 8vo. Toronto (1924).

continental railways were built through to the coast, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern, both now taken over and operated as the Canadian National Railways by the Dominion government. The story of the Grand Trunk Pacific and its construction through the wilderness has been told in a most fascinating way by Talbot;[1] and the political and financial side of the troubles of the Grand Trunk and Grand Trunk Pacific by Lovett.[2] The Canadian Northern has not as yet found its historian.

THE CANADIAN YUKON

Prior to the discovery of gold in the Klondike in 1896, little was known of the upper valley of the Yukon and its tributaries. The earliest accounts we have are reports made by two employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.[3] Some travelers who visited that part of America at a later date give interesting accounts of the country in the pre-Klondike days.[4] There was also an account of the means of access to the earlier mines on the Yukon,[5] and some reports were made by officials sent out by the Canadian government to report on the district.[6] A volume

[1] Talbot, F. A. *The making of a great Canadian railway*, 8vo. London, 1912.

[2] Lovett, Harry A., K.C. *Canada and the Grand Trunk*, 8vo. [Montreal, 1924.]

[3] Campbell, Robert. *Discovery and exploration of the Youcon (Pelly) River, 1840 1842*, Winnipeg, 1885.

Murray, Alexander H. *Journal du Yukon, 1847–8* (ed. L. J. Burpee), 8vo. Ottawa, 1910 (with bibliography).

[4] Whymper, Frederick. *Travel and adventure in the Territory of Alaska*, 8vo. London, 1868.

Schwatka, Lieut. Frederick. *Along Alaska's great river*, 8vo. New York (1885); and *sub nom.*, *A summer in Alaska*, 8vo. Philadelphia and St. Louis, 1891.

Pike, Warburton. *Through the sub-arctic forest*, 8vo. London and New York, 1896 (covering a trip down the Yukon in 1892–93).

[5] Bruce, Miner W. *Alaska, its history and resources, &c.*, 8vo. New York and Seattle, 1895.

[6] Dawson, George Mercer. *Report on an exploration in the Yukon District . . . . in 1887*, 8vo. Montreal, 1888.

McConnell, R. G. *Report on an exploration in the Yukon*, 8vo. Montreal, 1891.

printed in London after the discovery of the Klondike gives extracts from Dawson's *Report*, and the narrative of W. H. Dall, the leader of an expedition to Alaska in 1898.[1]

A large amount of printed matter, little of which is of any literary value, followed the discovery of the Klondike mines. It consisted of manuals, issued in various cities in Canada and the United States, to satisfy the clamor of the world for information as to the means of reaching the new Eldorado, and what to do when one arrived there. These professed to instruct the inexperienced adventurer how to reach his goal, what supplies to take with him, and how to obtain and extract riches from placer mines. In many cases, they also served as advertisements of the cities in which they were issued, as being the proper place to obtain their outfit. Probably the most practical were two written by, or on information obtained from, one Joseph Ladue, whom William Ogilvie calls "the eversmiling Ladue," a New Yorker of French-Canadian descent, an ex-prospector on the Yukon for a number of years, who opened a store in Dawson in September, 1896.[2] The Canadian government had sent out William Ogilvie in 1887 to determine the position of the one hundred and forty-first meridian, and his duties in this and other matters had kept him in Northwestern Canada until the gold strike, when he and others were called on to supply information.[3]

After the manuals for newcomers, and after the mines became a reality and were producing enormous amounts of gold,

[1] *The Yukon Territory*, 8vo. London, 1898.

[2] Ladue, Joseph. *Klondyke facts*, 12mo. New York, 1897; *Klondyke nuggets*, 8vo. New York, 1897.

[3] Ogilvie, William. *Information respecting the Yukon District*, 8vo. Ottawa, 1897; *The Klondyke official guide*, 8vo. Toronto, 1898.

Jennings, W. T. *Report on the exploration of routes to the Yukon*, 8vo. Ottawa, 1897.

came the records of the experiences of the participants in the stampede to the north. That written by the wise and experienced Ogilvie is easily the most authoritative.[1] We have some accounts by actual miners,[2] one by a famous newspaper correspondent, who spent a winter in Dawson;[3] one by a well-known Englishman, resident in Dawson for many years,[4] and several others who visited the country during the gold days and had an opportunity to know more or less of the realities of the period.[5]

Since the romance of the Klondike faded into the prosaic days of the near past and the present a number of books have appeared which are of interest. Some give accounts of the pleasure to be derived from the abundant game of that far-off region;[6] one describes a trip on both the MacKenzie River and

[1] Ogilvie, William. *Early days on the Yukon*, 8vo. London, New York, and Toronto, 1913.

[2] Stanley, William M. *A mile of gold*, 8vo. Chicago, 1898.

Haskell, William B. *Two years in the Klondike and Alaskan gold fields*, 8vo. Hartford, Conn., 1898.

Lynch, Jeremiah. *Three years in the Klondike*, 8vo. London, 1904.

[3] Palmer, Frederick. *In the Klondike*, 8vo. New York, 1899.

[4] Tollemache, hon. Stratford. *Reminiscences of the Yukon*, 8vo. Toronto and London, 1912.

[5] Kirk, Robert C. *Twelve months in the Klondike*, 8vo. London, 1899.

Haskell, William B. *Two years in the Klondike and Alaskan gold fields*, 8vo. Hartford, Conn., 1898. (Author claims to have had a mining claim on the Klondike).

DeWindt, Harry. *Through the gold fields of Alaska, &c.*, 8vo. London, 1898.

Adney, Tappan. *The Klondike stampede*, 8vo. New York, 1900.

Heilprin, A. *Alaska and the Klondike*, 8vo. New York, 1899.

Secretan, James H. E. *To Klondyke and back*, 8vo. London, 1898.

Auzias Turenne, Raymond. *Voyage au pays des mines d'or*, 8vo. Paris, 1899.

[6] Martindale, Thomas. *Hunting on the Upper Yukon*, 8vo, Philadelphia, 1913.

Auer, Harry Anton. *Camp fires in the Yukon; a record of big game hunting*, 8vo. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1916.

Sheldon, Charles. *Wilderness of the Upper Yukon*, 8vo. New York, 1919.

the Yukon;[1] and others, Klondike itself in later days.[2] The life of the Rev. W. H. Judge, by his brother, is a well-deserved tribute to the noble work done in early days by one of the best-known and well-beloved clergymen of Dawson City.[3]

The Yukon boasts one poet, Robert W. Service, whose works are too well known to need any reference here.

FINAL NOTE.—Since this paper was written, the following books have been published:

HOWAY, FREDERIC WILLIAM. *British Columbia, a province in the making*, 8vo. Toronto, 1928. See p. 31, ref. 4.

DEAVILLE, ALFRED STANLEY. *The colonial postal systems and postage stamps of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1849–1871.* Victoria, B.C., 1928. Memoir VIII. See p. 35.

WICKERSHAM, JUDGE JAMES. *Bibliography of Alaskan literature, 1724–1924.* Cordova, Alaska, 1927. Includes "Boundary, Alaska and Canada," nos. 857–964, and "Yukon Territory," nos. 6752–6808.

In addition, the following title was noticed too late to be inserted in its proper place:

DILLON, CAPT. PETER. *Voyage aux isles de la Mer du Sud, etc.*, 8vo. 2 vols. Paris, 1830. See p. 25, ref. 2.

[1] STEWART, ELIHU. *Down the MacKenzie and up the Yukon*, 8vo. London and Toronto, 1913.

[2] CAMERON, CHARLOTTE. *A Cheechako in Alaska*, 8vo. London, 1920.

[3] JUDGE, REV. CHAS. J. *An American missionary*, 8vo. Boston, 1907.

PHOTOSTATIC REPRODUCTIONS OF EARLY AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

IN A sense this paper is a footnote to Mr. Worthington C. Ford's "Ten years of the photostat" in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* for April, 1925. Mr. Ford, in this article, has listed not only the long series of newspaper reproductions by the photostatic process made by the Massachusetts Historical Society, but has also given the titles of the very impressive list of important books copied by the photostat under his direction and distributed to ten American libraries. He has further outlined the titles of certain manuscripts and books reproduced both for private collectors and for subscribers, and has in general shown a record of intelligent and well-directed activity in the use of the photostat which may well be the envy and the admiration of his colleagues. My purpose in this brief article is merely to call attention to certain other reproductions of newspapers, to describe very briefly some of the difficulties encountered in this type of work, and to suggest a plan for dividing this field in such a fashion that too great burdens shall not be placed on our libraries.

Mr. Ford notes that the following newspapers have been reproduced, within the dates given in each instance, by the Massachusetts Historical Society: *Boston News-Letter*, 1704–59 (since continued to 1763); *Georgia Gazette*, 1763–73; *Boston Gazette*, 1719–36 (two sets only). North Carolina newspapers published before 1800, including *North Carolina Gazette*, 1777–78; *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 1789–91; *North Carolina Journal*, 1792–95. Also *New England Courant*, 1721–26 (published by James and Benjamin Franklin); *Virginia Gazette*, 1736–80 (this in combination with the Virginia Historical Association and with the assistance of Messrs. Fairfax Harrison, Henry W. Anderson, and John Stewart Bryan; undertaking still in progress). In addition, the Massachusetts Historical Society has issued a photostat reproduction of *Domestick Intelligence, or News both from City and*

Country, 1679–81, edited and published in London by Benjamin Harris.

The John Carter Brown Library has issued the *Newport Mercury*, 1758–85; the *Newport Gazette*, 1777–79; and the *Maryland Gazette*, 1727–34. The New York Historical Society has issued the *New York Gazette*, 1726–44; the *New York Weekly Journal*, 1733–51; and the *New York Evening Post*, 1744–47.

The *Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 1926–27, notes the acquisition of photostats of the twenty-six existing issues of the *Times and Patowmack Packet* of Georgetown, D.C., 1789–91.

The University of Michigan has published the *Kentucky Gazette*, 1787–1800, and the *Detroit Gazette*, 1817–30.

My own connection with the reproduction by photostat of the last two newspapers leads me to add a few notes from our experience which may be useful to our colleagues undertaking a similar enterprise.

The longest file of the *Kentucky Gazette* known to exist was that in the Public Library of Lexington, *Kentucky*. This is the editor's and publisher's own file, and is much more complete than any other series of this newspaper. If not the first newspaper published west of the Alleghenies, the *Kentucky Gazette* certainly had the longest continuous life of any eighteenth-century paper published in the Ohio Valley. It is our principal source for much of the early history not alone of Kentucky, but of the neighboring states and of the commerce of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. The paper continued far beyond the opening of the nineteenth century, but it was not felt that after 1800 it occupied so unique a position as to justify the great expense of photostating a daily journal.

The Lexington file is in a non-fireproof library building, and we were moved to undertake its reproduction chiefly by reason of the danger to which a newspaper file is exposed under such circumstances. As twenty copies in all were made, one feels that the danger of destruction of such an important document and source for the history of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys is removed, and we may feel that we

have contributed in no small degree, through the aid of our subscribers, in preserving this most important record from permanent loss.

Certain numbers in the Lexington file of this journal are missing. It was necessary to make a note of these, and to inaugurate an extensive correspondence before we could be assured that we had secured negatives of all the known issues. There remain, however, in the fourteen years covered by this reproduction, over seventy numbers which the most diligent search, lasting over a period of three years, failed to locate at all, including, most unfortunately, the first number of the journal. The reproduction consequently begins with Volume I, No. 2. A somewhat amusing result of this lack of the first number was the repudiation of a subscription which had been placed by the Ohio State Library, where a purely political appointee had later been made librarian, as he refused to accept what he called a "defective file." He claimed that his predecessor in office had subscribed for a "perfect" file, and we were not supplying such a file, as was evinced by the absence of the very first number. Of course we had carefully guarded ourselves and our subscribers against any such misconception in the preliminary correspondence and in the invitation to subscribe. It is even more amusing to note that the State Library of Indiana promptly availed itself of the opportunity to secure the copy thus summarily refused by the State Library of Ohio.

It is not too much to say that the cost and difficulty of locating copies which are missing from the files of early periodicals is a serious obstacle to the success of any effort to photostat a long run of a newspaper. The case of the *Detroit Gazette* was even worse than that of the *Kentucky Gazette*. The best file known to us is that in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library. By dint of many letters and advertising in the library press, we managed to turn up missing numbers, in one case covering a run of six months, in the Buffalo Public Library, the Library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, the Library of Congress, and one or two other institutions. The photostatic reproduction of both of these journals is, therefore, very much more nearly complete than any original file. I may add

that the gaps in the original files at both Lexington and Detroit were supplied to those files in photostatic copies by the University of Michigan. We bound the originals and the photostatic copies of missing files together so that both of these libraries now have all the issues known to us of these two journals. An amusing but somewhat disheartening commentary on the difficulty of this operation is the fact that Mr. Burton has recently acquired a considerable number of supplements to the issues of the *Detroit Gazette* which were not found in his file or any other file, so that we shall now have to photostat the supplements and supply them to subscribing libraries. I am in hopes that other numbers will be found, and that the gaps will be filled. Of course, in binding we left stubs for missing numbers so that they can be inserted in their proper place.

Press notices of the reproduction of these newspapers brought us a flood of facsimiles of early newspapers. I think we discovered at least three new varieties of the *Ulster County Gazette*, and we were either asked to buy or were given facsimiles of single issues of a number of western papers which were not previously known to us through any bibliography or through our own files. The practice of making facsimiles on old newsprint paper of early issues, deemed important because they commemorated anniversaries or recorded such events as the assassination of President Lincoln, appears to have been rather common, beginning with the centennial of 1876 and continuing down into our own day. I suppose all librarians have been urged, if not importuned, to buy such facsimiles as originals.

As the *Kentucky Gazette* was owned at Lexington, and as the Trustees of the Lexington Public Library very kindly consented to allow their precious file to be sent to Ann Arbor for reproduction, we constructed, in the shops of the University of Michigan, a box for carrying the volumes which I think lived up to the requirement laid upon the designers that it must be strong enough to go through a railroad wreck without damage, and must be tight enough to stand immersion in water for a considerable period without damage to the contents. The box was made of two thicknesses of one-inch yellow pine, very carefully grooved and made extremely tight. This was covered with galvanized iron one-sixteenth of an inch thick. There were very heavy

staples and extremely strong padlocks fitting over hasps which brought the top down so tightly over the box that the added precaution of wrapping each volume (when shipped) in waterproof cloth and inserting it in a rubber bag seemed almost unnecessary. While such precautions may have been unnecessarily elaborate, we could not forget that the volumes lent for photostating were absolutely irreplaceable. The box in which these shipments were made was a constant source of amused and even disgusted comment on the part of expressmen who were not only annoyed at having to give attention to shipments valued at one thousand dollars each, but resented greatly the extreme weight of the container. I may say that the box was provided with strong iron handles so that it could be lifted and handled easily. The fact, however, that we were able to construct a container of this sort in which to ship precious but bulky material seems to me to afford a possibility of adequate protection to large-size documents of great rarity and value if they must be shipped for purposes of reproduction.

There are in existence a very considerable number of eighteenth-century newspapers and a few of the nineteenth whose reproduction by the photostat has been urged with considerable vehemence by historians. There seems no reason why one may not regard a photostat copy, if due diligence has been exercised in washing the paper after development, as a fairly permanent record, but the cost of the operation is so great per page that the reproduction of a daily or semi-weekly newspaper runs to a very considerable amount of money. The actual cost of reproducing the *Kentucky Gazette*, not including any charge for overhead expenses, was $810. In the last few years of the eighteenth century this paper appeared three times a week, although, like most of the eighteenth-century newspapers, it was a weekly journal at the beginning. The total number of pages was 2,656. The price just given was for a bound set. Despite every effort to make economies in operation, the photostat is a poor publishing instrument. There is not much economy in a multiplication of copies, as there is in making contact prints or books printed from type. It takes fully as much time to make the tenth or the hundredth copy as it does to make the first copy. The economies come in developing, washing,

assembling, and binding, and they are necessarily somewhat slight, being almost wholly economies of labor cost with very little saving possible in chemicals and none in paper.

It is apparent, therefore, that photostatic reproduction of a newspaper file is not to be entered into lightly, and that if libraries are asked to subscribe to the enterprise they must be given some assurances that they will not be asked to load their funds too heavily with a large number of subscriptions. The admirable work of the libraries already carrying on enterprises of this sort makes it seem wise to leave the field largely to them. These libraries, however, are all on the Atlantic seaboard, and their interest in what they call "western" history is less immediate and intense than that of historians and librarians in the Mississippi Valley. This group is even now pressing for the reproduction of early newspapers printed in Pittsburgh and Chillicothe and for some other journals. The number of libraries which can join in an undertaking of this sort is necessarily limited. There is very little if any support from individual collectors. It would seem, therefore, in view of these facts, that we might arrive at a satisfactory solution of this problem either by conference with the libraries already issuing photostatic reproductions of newspapers or by a committee of the Bibliographical Society of America or of the American Historical Association. Certainly I should not suggest to the Massachusetts Historical Society, the John Carter Brown Library, or the New York Historical Society that they, as a group or singly, should curtail their present activities. Rather should I wish to see them enlarged and the opportunities for procuring original source material in the form of newspapers increased. It is, however, quite likely that unless the American Historical Society or the Bibliographical Society appoints some committee to advise on photostatic reproductions of newspapers, various enterprising people will come forward not only with proposals to subscribe to other reproductions, but to engage in work of this sort on a large and very costly scale. As a practical librarian, charged with the duty of making book funds go as far as possible, I trust that we may discuss this topic in an amicable spirit, and may suggest some means of meeting a real need and of avoiding an imminent difficulty.

If this Society should seek Mr. Ford, Mr. Wroth, and Mr. Wall to

join with themselves one or two other persons to act as a committee on a program for photostating rare American newspapers which frequently exist in scattered files, I am quite sure that any plan which they might outline would be accepted cheerfully by the libraries which are most concerned in securing photostatic reproductions of early newspapers. Moreover, I am confident that such a committee would have weight and influence, and would not only prepare for us a program which we could all willingly adopt, but would make possible the reproduction of more journals than would be photostated by any one of our libraries on its own initiative. These gentlemen know where the scattered numbers of the eighteenth-century American papers are to be found, and they know what the demand is for them. They can judge as a group, far better than any individual library, what newspapers are worth reproducing, and can agree upon the order in which they should appear. While it may seem ungracious to suggest that they add to their present labors, the suggestion is made in a sincere effort to encourage the multiplication and distribution of source material in the aid of scholarship. To be concrete, I should like to tell the men who are urging that certain newspapers which concern the history of the Northwest Territory be reproduced by the photostatic process that this work will be taken up in due order and at a convenient season in such a way as not to burden too heavily the various subscribing libraries. As things are now, in the absence of any definite program or any assurance that the whole field will be studied, and the needs of various parts of the country provided for definitely, there is a great temptation to yield to a demand which is both reasonable and pressing.

William Warner Bishop

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN TRAVEL: A PROJECT[1]

THOSE who profess devotion to the muse of history are wont to proclaim that no matter can be adequately understood without a knowledge of its origin and development. They make no exception on behalf of their own activities, and therefore it seems proper to use the historical approach to our subject, especially as the project of compiling a bibliography of travel under the auspices of the American Historical Association has a history that extends back at least seventeen years. That history may not be especially thrilling, but it may help us to formulate certain conclusions that will be useful.

The first suggestion of a bibliography of travel in America that I have discovered was made by Mr. A. J. Morrison, of Hampden-Sidney, Virginia, who in 1909 proposed such a project to the Library of Congress and to the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution. In October, 1910, he was in correspondence with Professor Max Farrand, of Yale, on the subject, and in November of that year the council of the American Historical Association appointed a special committee with Dr. Farrand as chairman and Dr. E. C. Richardson and Professor E. D. Adams as members to investigate the project. On December 1, Dr. Farrand sent a circular letter to thirty prominent men in the American historical field, asking them if they had found any need for such a work, if the works of American as well as foreign travelers should be included, whether the arrangement should be chronological or alphabetical, if critical notes or characterizations would be essential, and if they would co-operate to the extent of preparing such notes on a few works.

Replies were received from over two-thirds of those to whom letters were sent; and, as Dr. Farrand reported to the council in December:

[1] Read at a joint meeting of the Conference of Historical Societies and the Bibliographical Society of America, under the auspices of the American Historical Association, at Washington, December 30, 1927.

Four out of every five of the replies received were enthusiastic for such a bibliography being prepared, and a large majority of them expressed a personal need for such a work. The general opinion is that the bibliography ought to include both American and foreign travels; that it should be primarily chronological with, of course, an alphabetical index, and that there should be some sort of a geographical grouping of the travels as well if that be possible; finally, that there should be a brief note of the scope of each work rather than a criticism of its contents.

An examination of the letters discloses the further facts that eighteen of the writers promised to co-operate (doubtless their promises are now outlawed), and that Dr. Richardson suggested the assembling of catalogue cards from the Library of Congress and other large libraries. The committee was continued and was given an allowance of twenty-five dollars for clerical expenses during 1911.

Dr. Farrand then entered upon correspondence with various libraries, with the result that in November, 1911, he was able to report to the council that the Library of Congress had agreed to supply printed cards for all its titles, estimated at from 2,000 to 2,500, and that the Princeton University Library, the John Carter Brown Library, and the libraries of the American Antiquarian Society, Yale, and Harvard universities, and the Wisconsin Historical Society had agreed to check these cards in succession and supply copy for additional titles in their possession. Furthermore, the Library of Congress had agreed to print cards from such copy and supply them for the bibliography. It was thought that the card bibliography could be compiled at the expense to the association of about fifty dollars for clerical help and that a number of important libraries would then supply themselves with duplicates by purchasing the cards from the Library of Congress. The project of an annotated bibliography was not to be abandoned, but the committee felt that it would require several years and considerable money and that decisions concerning it might await the completion of the card bibliography. Dr. Farrand asked to be relieved from further responsibility in the matter, and the report suggested the appointment of an editor to handle the work either independently or under the supervision of the Association's standing committee on bibliography.

The council, at its meeting in December, 1911, decided to turn the work over to an editor under the supervision of the committee on bibliography, of which Dr. Richardson was chairman, and appropriated fifty dollars for expenses. No editor was obtained, however, until the summer of 1913, when Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore, agreed to undertake the work in collaboration with Mr. Louis H. Dielman, of the Peabody Institute, and apparently one hundred dollars was made available from the committee's appropriation. The Library of Congress was then asked to supply two copies of each of its cards, one for chronological and one for alphabetical arrangement, and the scope of the work was defined to cover works of travel and guidebooks dealing with the Continental United States, including Alaska, to the end of the nineteenth century, with the exception of works relating to a single city. The cards, for about three thousand titles, were received in October, and the library agreed to send additional cards in the field as they should be printed.

Dr. Steiner and Mr. Dielman appear to have devoted considerable time to the work for a number of years, especially to searching for additional titles in their respective libraries and making typewritten cards for them. These cards appear to have been sent to the Library of Congress for checking, and doubtless produced additional printed cards that had been overlooked, but it does not appear that copy was supplied for the printing of further cards by the Library of Congress. The arrangement of one set of cards in chronological order was not undertaken, doubtless because of the impossibility in most cases of determining the proper dates without an examination of the books themselves. As early as December, 1913, Dr. Steiner reported that "we are impressed by the magnitude and the usefulness of the task, and while we believe that it is well worth doing, we are convinced that it cannot properly be done in a short time." He added that the rate of progress would depend upon the funds available for clerical assistance. A total of two hundred dollars was turned over to Dr. Steiner for the work, but only about half of it was spent, the rest being held in reserve in the hope that future appropriations added to it would make possible the employment of an assistant.

In 1914 Dr. Richardson suggested the preparation and printing of two title-a-line check lists, one of works in the Library of Congress and one of all others, and their circulation among libraries as a basis for the preparation of copy for further printing by the Library of Congress. Dr. Steiner undertook to have this work done, but apparently he reached the conclusion that the funds available were not sufficient for the preparation of the lists, to say nothing of their printing.

In December, 1915, Professor George M. Dutcher, of Wesleyan, succeeded Dr. Richardson as chairman of the committee on bibliography, and during 1916 there was considerable correspondence as to the possibility of printing or multigraphing the proposed check lists. The number of titles at this time was estimated at forty-seven hundred, and it was thought that printing would cost about five hundred dollars. This sum was requested of the council in December, 1916, but no appropriation was made. About a year later Dr. Steiner informed Dr. Dutcher that in his opinion it would be unwise to print a check list without further investigation, and suggested that if someone could be found who could devote considerable time to the work, he would be glad to turn all the material over to him. No appropriation was made in 1917, and in the following year Dr. Steiner resigned and the work was turned over to Dr. A. H. Shearer, of the Grosvenor Library, at Buffalo. The cards and correspondence were sent to him, together with a balance of a little over one hundred dollars of unexpended allotments, but no progress was made in the work.

The completion and publication of the bibliography of travel was one of the recommendations of the Association's special committee on policy in its report presented in December, 1920, and at the same session the committee on bibliography was charged with this task and also with the compilation of the *Manual of historical literature*. Some time after the meeting a subcommittee on the bibliography of travel consisting of Dr. B. F. Shambaugh, Dr. M. M. Quaife, and the writer was named, and from this time on the committee on bibliography devoted practically all its energies and all its appropriations to the work on the *Manual*. The subcommittee does not appear to have functioned in 1921, or in 1922.

In December, 1922, the council designated me as chairman of the subcommittee, and I entered upon correspondence with Dr. Shearer, who still had all the material. A shipment of cards, correspondence, and catalogues of second-hand books was received in April, 1923, and a study of the problems involved was begun. In December I learned that there was an unexpended balance of over one hundred dollars available for the work, and in May, 1924, the money was received in the form of Liberty bonds.

The assistance of a graduate student was then obtained, the files were straightened out, accumulations of cards were filed, and some progress was made in the writing of descriptive annotations for such of the works as were available in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society. The funds, amounting with accumulated interest to about one hundred and twenty-eight dollars, were exhausted by the end of April, 1925; and the work came to an end, with the exception that I have continued to file new Library of Congress cards as received and have made temporary cards for additional items that have come to my attention. In December, 1924, the subcommittee was abolished, but the writer was appointed a member of the general committee on bibliography, with the understanding that the bibliography of travel was to be his special charge and that, when the *Manual* should be out of the way, funds would be made available for the prosecution of the work. The appointment was renewed in 1925 and again in 1926, but no appropriation has been made as yet. It is confidently believed, however, that the Association will make a moderate appropriation for the continuance of the work in the near future, and there is some prospect that another organization will undertake to share the expense with the Association and thus enable the work to proceed more rapidly.

On the basis of my experience with this bibliography and also with a bibliography of Illinois travel and description that I compiled some years ago for publication by the State Historical Library of Illinois, together with a study of the reports of my predecessors, I have arrived at certain tentative conclusions with reference to the nature of the projected bibliography and to the appropriate procedure for completing and publishing it.

I believe that the work should be limited chronologically to the three centuries from 1600 to 1900, thus leaving the earlier voyages and explorations with their complicated bibliographical problems for more appropriate treatment as parts of a general bibliography of sixteenth-century Americana. Geographically it should cover the continental part of the United States including Alaska, as originally proposed, but the definition of the character of the material should be broadened to include all descriptive works dealing with a limited period except those that treat primarily of physical conditions or of single localities. A work of travel is valuable principally for its description of conditions, and there seems to be no good reason for excluding other descriptive works, such, for example, as Bryce's *American Commonwealth.* Material in magazines, in volumes of collections, and even in newspapers should certainly be included so far as it can be located, but it will probably not be feasible to include unpublished manuscripts. Reminiscent works that contain descriptive material will be on the border line, and inclusion or exclusion will have to depend on the amount and nature of the material.

The arrangement should be a combination of the geographical and the chronological: first, works treating more than one section; then, divisions by section and subdivisions by states, with chronological arrangement by date of observation within each group. Some cross-references may be necessary, and an index of authors, topics, and localities will be essential. The first publication of a work should be the basis of the main entry, but later editions, reprints, and translations will have to be listed in a bibliographical note, and this will involve a surprisingly large amount of work. An attempt should be made to indicate by key letters the location of at least one copy of each edition. The bibliographical note should be followed by a descriptive annotation indicating the region covered, the interests and point of view of the author, and any special features of note; and, in some cases, critical comment should be included. References to reviews or discussions of important works, when available, should be added.

The preliminary examination of the bulk of the material, observation of dates, and writing of descriptive notes can be done by a skilful graduate student working in any large library, and if I continue in

charge of the work this will probably be done in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society. Similar work in the Library of Congress would yield the descriptive data on all but a few of the remaining works, but the tracking-down of editions would require checking in a number of large libraries. As the descriptive data are assembled, titles can be checked with Sabin and other bibliographies, the results edited, and the items arranged in their respective divisions. The second set of cards, with section and date noted on them, will serve as a working index.

As the divisions begin to take form it is expected that the cooperation of librarians and professional students of history can be enlisted for checking, supplementing, and revising them. It is possible that a title-a-line check list of some items will be needed to aid in the location of copies, but it is believed that typewritten copies of sections, with each entry on a separate page, can be used more effectively and economically in the work of supplementing and revising.

It is obvious that a large amount of work remains to be done before the bibliography will be ready for final publication. Undoubtedly members of the Association and librarians will give professional services gratuitously, as they have in the past on this and similar projects, but they should not be asked to contribute the large amount of routine labor that will be necessary. We come back, therefore, to the position taken by Dr. Steiner in 1913: The rate of progress will depend upon the amount of money available for clerical help. Only a very rough estimate can be made of how much money will be needed, but I am inclined to think that the drafting of the preliminary notes, together with checking, typing, collating, proofreading, and indexing will cost about four thousand dollars.

There remains the question of publication. I estimate that the number of items will be about six thousand and that, if printed in a format similar to that of the *Writings on American history* or the *American Library Association Catalogue*, they will run about eight to a page. This would give us a work of 750 pages, and the Index would probably increase this to 900 pages. The new *American Library Association Catalogue* contains about 1,300 pages and is two and a half inches thick. Using the same paper, we should have, therefore, a

book about one and three-quarters inches thick. I believe that about five hundred copies of the work could be sold—mainly, of course, to libraries, collectors of Americana, and second-hand book-dealers—at fifteen or twenty dollars apiece; and, if so, the returns would probably be sufficient to cover the cost of printing and binding an edition of that size. At any rate, I am confident that, once the bibliography is finished, no difficulty will be experienced in devising ways and means of publication.

Solon J. Buck

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

THE United States has always made greater efforts to know Mexico than any of the Spanish countries. This truth must be recognized by those who are in sympathy with the desire of the Hispanic-American Union, limited, so far, to oratory and to projects always postponed for tomorrow. The cause of this intense desire to know Mexico is justified geographically and historically, as well as by an understanding for social service, and it is also a form of economic expansion.

We shall soon have to come to the American libraries—or rather, we are coming to consult the sources of our history for the books which are jewels of Mexican bibliography and very important historical manuscripts are here, though this is not a reason for denying the good service they offer to us all. Whenever the Spanish archives are needed for reference work in writing our history, we must not forget that many manuscripts of both Spanish and Mexican archives are kept in the United States libraries. Hence the ever increasing interest to know Mexico and the desire of mutual co-operation between the two countries. Financial prosperity of this country has made possible all the means of research, and if in our public libraries there are at present quite relatively, more foreign than Mexican readers, and if these scholars master the Spanish language more than the Mexicans the English, is it strange to speak of a problem which already causes anxiety—that of bibliographical co-operation between Mexico and the United States?

Each one in search of help in study turns to the Library of Congress, for it is the center of great possibilities. It is not necessary to show why it is in the first rank among the libraries of the world; it is a miracle of organization, an example of vigilant intelligence. We repeat the request made in 1870 that the National Library of Mexico and the Library of Congress agree to keep up a regular interchange of

official publications. The Library of Congress has complied with this more than that of Mexico. We admit the fault, but how can we comply if neither the publishers nor the authors of Mexico respect the decree of President Juarez, which requires that two copies of every work be sent to the National? Then, to solve the difficulties the Library of Congress has preferred to keep up a direct exchange with the Mexican government offices which have publications. The confusion in this service is not difficult to remedy.

Why not establish two clearing houses, two centers of bibliography, which will be responsible for exchange? We propose, then, that the Library of Congress, or the Pan-American Union, and the library department of the Secretariat of Education be the corresponding depositors. We would have the assurance of the receipt of the official publications of both countries (not only those of the public offices, but also those of the learned institutions), and we could study the manner of caring for bibliographical aids and especially have timely information about the books of greatest interest to us.

But this service would not be enough; more should be done. A bulletin in an inexpensive edition, a gazette or digest, which shall give in Mexico news of both countries regarding publishers' activities, prices, directories, special bibliographies, answers to questions, live articles from the two presses, and the most important notices for libraries and universities. *El Libro y El Pueblo* in its original form began this work, but it changed to conform to the needs of those whom it served, and ceased to be a bulletin for bibliographers and librarians, so that it might better reach the Mexican readers who are in a formative stage. In this respect it is necessary to recall the beneficial influence of the *Hispanic-American historical review*, which is carried on under the auspices of Duke University Press.

Then we could make another attempt, an exhibition of Mexican books—one held annually would be best—in the Library of Congress first, and in New York later. This exhibition would make it possible to know the excellence of our graphic arts, the amount of annual production, which varies from time to time, and the splendor of the ancient bibliophile. Correspondingly, we urge that in some large Mexican library—the National, or that of the Secretariat—should be an

exhibition of the recent and most important work of the publishing houses of the United States which seek a market not only in Mexico but also in other Spanish-speaking countries, and which must learn our needs if they would enlarge their clientèle. During the second Conference of Mexican Librarians, to which we had the pleasure of receiving delegates from the United States and Central America, the Library of the Secretariat of Education had the first tentative exhibit, thanks to the fine co-operation of such well-known houses as Macmillan, Heath, and Ginn companies. In this modest attempt the trail has been blazed.

Along with this work it is very possible that the publishing houses, those that have prominent book stores in both countries, should be active in sending out their catalogues punctually, using the lists which can be found in the two clearing houses. The Library Department of Mexico has a directory for beginning this interchange which is much used in helping the universities. There is, here and there, among the statistical records of public libraries, a great opportunity to learn what books of each country are most asked for by the students. This information would be valuable to all because it would show the trend of the publishing world. Who would deny that the bibliography of a country is one aspect of its greatest possibilities?

If it were possible that the centers of bibliographical co-operation would find a means to exchange the catalogue cards of the two interested countries, a new source of help could be created, leading to the sale of these cards to reliable subscribers. Our co-operation would increase the product of our labor 100 per cent, bibliographers would have their fields of research greatly enlarged, some scholars—especially in Mexico—would acquire the habit of buying books, and the publishing houses and book stores would quickly see the result of a service with the smallest of outlays.

Perhaps it would be opportune to suggest to Mexican authors, of scientific investigations, or of textbooks, the convenience of following the example set by those of the United States including a bibliography and an analytical index to the book. The distinguished scholar, Don Julio Jimenez Rueda, has followed this example in his *Historia de la*

literatura mexicana, recently published. How useful it would have been to us if in the *History of Mexico* by Bernal Diaz, edition of García, there had been a detailed index, so that we might have avoided going step by step through the mass of material in this classic tome. Priestley, in *The Mexican nation, a history*, gives us an example, as did Bancroft, of a method which leads to further reading. I refer to these books not because they are unusual, but are by authors frequently used and referred to in Mexico.

How can the press help us? In Mexico we consult with interest the indexes of the H. W. Wilson Company and of the *New York Times*. There in the great Mexican dailies we have an admirable field for learning the results of their observation. The current index of the articles, giving the outstanding events of the year, are a living comment, not only on the life of the people, but of the mental picture of the Mexican people in the great work of humanity.

The leading newspapers of Mexico are doing very little for national bibliography. I speak with knowledge because I am a journalist. Already we feel in many ways the influence of the masters of American Journalism—in the forefront the *New York Times*. Why may we not in our Mexican Sunday papers publish a weekly review of books? Now that the press is the best vehicle for conveying the spiritual qualities of a nation, let us endeavor that the cable with its invaluable information on politics, social scandals, and archaeological discoveries be willing to add once a week a detailed account about the books recently appearing on the market and very interesting to readers who only care for the news. The Associated Press, the United Press, the Agencia Trens, and the Agencia Ariel carry much weight, and this group is working together to promote continental culture, and their co-operation in this work will be extremely useful.

It is now time for an arduous task: I refer to the Mexican bibliography of the twentieth century, a work which is to complete the efforts of Beristain, Eguiara, García Icazbalceta, Medina, Leon, and Andrade. The library of Texas University has the most precious collection of Mexicana, formerly owned by Don Genaro García, and we have been promised the catalogue of that wonderful collection.

As soon as we have the material of the National Library ready for work, the task may be done by a group of bibliographers. We have now several to guide us, among them the *Bibliography of Hispanic-American bibliographies*, by C. K. Jones, of the Library of Congress.

A closer friendship will then result between the Mexican bibliographers and the Bibliographical Society of America. It would be convenient to study a system leading to a better knowledge with a similar aim, so necessary for the immediate preparation of the special and most important bibliographies. (For instance, all the publications relating to the history of our international relations.) It is probable that collaboration might be obtained from such authorities on Mexicana as Conway, García Pimentel, Perez y Salazar, Gomez de Orozco, and the Bancroft Library in Berkeley.

We may now give a vote of thanks to the Secretariat of Foreign Relations of Mexico, which, due to Don Genaro Estrada's ability, is helping us so much with its series of "Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas," containing very valuable data. This Secretariat will soon publish the *Anuario bibliográfico mexicano*, a book we need so much nowadays, for it will give not only the fullest information on every book and pamphlet annually published in Mexico, but will offer also a review as well as the comment used as a guide for readers. It is not a simple list of titles, authors, and publishers, which causes us so much satisfaction in our bibliographical work. We must follow the path of bibliographers such as René Moreno and Dr. León, who are really masters in this science. As soon as the *Anuario bibliográfico mexicano* is out, the co-operation between Mexico and the United States will set the first stone of the building, the outlines of which are beginning now that the problem is demanding a prompt solution.

SUGGESTIONS

First.—Two correspondent centers of bibliographical co-operation shall be established: in Mexico, the Library Department of the Secretariat of Education, and in the United States, the Library of Congress or the Pan-American Union. These institutions will take charge of the regular exchange of the official publications of the two governments, as well as of the most important ones from other institutions.

Second.—A bulletin announcing the latest publications, both from Mexico and the United States, and used as a reference book, should be printed at once.

Third.—The establishment of an annual exhibit of Mexican books in the United States and another one of American publishers in Mexico City is suggested.

Fourth.—Statistics of books most in demand by both American and Mexican readers concerning each other's countries shall be compiled.

Fifth.—The leading Mexican dailies are invited to publish a weekly bibliographical section. The foreign-press agencies shall be asked to publish periodically the news in the latest American and Mexican books.

Sixth.—Mexican bibliography of the nineteenth century as well as American bibliography most important to Mexico shall be compiled.

Seventh.—Mexican authors are requested to present an analytical index in their own books, and a list of the reference books that they have consulted.

Eighth.—A Bibliographical Society of Mexico shall be established to draw up the regulations of the bibliographical co-operation of both countries.

Ninth.—Mexican booksellers and publishers shall be invited to publish their catalogues regularly, also to distribute said catalogues through the aforementioned bibliographical clearing houses.

Tenth.—A suggestion is made to both the Library of Congress and the National Mexican Library for the establishment of a fund through sale of printed cards of their respective catalogues.

Eleventh.—A vote of thanks should be extended to both the Secretariat of Foreign Relations of Mexico for publishing the series of "Monografías bibliográficas mexicanas," and to the *Hispanic-American historical review* for its practical bibliographical co-operation between Mexico and the United States.

Twelfth.—The *Mexican bibliographical year book* should be published as soon as possible.

RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE

AZARIAH SMITH ROOT

IT IS now some months since word was flashed from Oberlin that Professor Root had died. The news was to all of us a shock. We have not recovered yet from our sense of pained surprise and grief. But we cannot let this occasion pass without some attempt to record our love for the man, our respect for his great and unusual gifts, our reverence for his character, our bewilderment as to anyone to take the place he had made for himself in our hearts. To me you have intrusted the task of trying to say what we should all like to have said, but what none of us can wholly and truly express.

I shall attempt no formal biographical sketch of our late friend and former president. For such dull chronicling one may resort to various biographical dictionaries. Rather shall I endeavor to recall some of those traits which endeared Root to us all, those qualities which made us respect alike his information and his judgment, that personality and character which are, perhaps, the highest form of human attainment.

We always called him "Professor" Root. Why, I can hardly say. True, he was Oberlin's senior professor, and professors are not so common in the bibliographical and library world as they were a generation or two since. But we have other professors in our circle, professors from old and from newer colleges and universities, and we never use their titles either in speaking of them or to them. Was this habit of ours an unconscious tribute to certain remarkable qualities of scholarship which marked our friend? I rather fancy this must be the reason, for Root was permeated with a modest but very sound learning. Few knew the range and extent of his study and reading. His studies at Göttingen under Dziatzko were but an incident in a lifetime of severe and prolonged research. His last years were filled with an intensive study of the controversy over the origin of printing. He learned Dutch in order to delve among the Haarlem archives for further light on Coster and his work, spending the summer of 1926 in Haarlem in

patient ground work, preparing for another summer's study which never came to him. No one who heard his lecture at the Mackinac Island Conference on the present state of this controversy could have failed to be impressed with the masterly manner in which, without a note before him, he set forth with ease and precision, but with critical poise and judgment, the views of writer after writer on this thorny topic. His reading was both wide and deep. He had none of the mannerisms of the professorial *poseur*. But he was at heart and in truth a scholar.

Root was a great teacher. It has been my privilege to be associated with him in the teaching of librarianship through three summers at Michigan, and I have watched his work at Oberlin, at Western Reserve, and his year at the New York Public Library's Library School. Once we conducted a seminar together, and it was for me and for his students a most illuminating experience. His extraordinary kindness and receptivity, his brilliant and witty comment, his really extensive knowledge alike of books and of library practice, and his intensely practical mind combined to make that seminar a living memory.

Root was a practical librarian. He was of the older school that did things for itself without an array of secretaries and typists. Yet he was able to use every modern device when he could get it. He began in the days of rather small things at Oberlin, but by prodigious industry and unremitting toil he made a real institution out of what might have been only an ordinary college library. He was possessed of an enormous fund of information about books and about American library conditions. Wherever he went he was at home in the library. I used to find him roaming the stacks alike at Michigan and the Library of Congress seeking for titles which were new to him. He seemed always ready to produce from a remarkable memory exactly the book-title his friends needed at any moment. He combined in a very practical and efficient way a college and a town library in one building and under one administration.

But Root was absolutely unpedantic. He was a "good mixer." He knew and loved people. For years he was a force in Oberlin

College, in the town, in his church, among the alumni, among his colleagues alike in teaching and in librarianship. He served on innumerable committees. He filled many offices. He gave of his strength and time lavishly. We made him president of this Society and of the Library Association. To each office he brought common sense, patience, vision, and enthusiasm.

All these things are admirable, but the sum of them is less than was the man. For it is his character that remains an abiding presence with us. Simple and utterly without ostentation; loyal, kindly, firm in his convictions; unswerving in his purpose; modest and true—all this we may well say of him. Always critical, he was never unkind or bitter. Never himself slovenly or hasty, he was always charitable toward errors or failures in his colleagues, discovering their virtues, encouraging their weakness. It is the friend we have lost whom we commemorate today—not our past president, not the professor, not the executive, but the friend. Perhaps the last of his generation still active among us, he was alike the link with the men who created librarianship in America and those who are carrying it on to greater and larger service. We use no lip-service when we say from our hearts: "He served well his day and generation."

William Warner Bishop